TERRENA PORRO CIVITAS, QUAE SEMPITERNA NON ERIT - - HIC HABET BONUM SUUM

The earthly city, which is not eternal, has here its own good. (Aug. Civ. Dei 15, 4)

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ATLAS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

English version by

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PREFACE

THIS atlas is primarily intended for those who are prepared to browse long and imaginatively over maps It is designed for those who want to sift and meditate upon their recollections of the history of our civilization Such readers will find here a clear and concise description divided into clearly defined periods with an explanatory text accompanied by representative illustrations

CONTENTS Our civilization has a clearly defined mother country – that part of the world whose frontiers have been clearly fixed since about 1492 and which since then to quote Valéry has had the power to subdue and to rule the rest of the world and to direct it to European ends This area today we call the West There are however enormous areas themselves sources of impressive cultures which fall outside its scope There are others Orthodox Eastern Europe for example which share the same origins which border it materially and spiritually and are also influenced by it but which belong in many respects none the less to a different world

Time too provides a handy boundary The history of the west begins with the Greek city states What went before that is for us almost prehistoric what lies ahead however concerns not only the west but the whole human race for there are no longer any blank spaces on the map and culture has no longer any clear frontiers For that reason this survey covers the period from Homer to the days of the United Nations

In the history of our civilization it is personalities and monuments of thought which play the dominant role – not economic systems nor ideas developing under the compulsion of historical determinism To quote Valéry once more Events are born of an unknown father necessity is only their mother True creativity indeed is of the spirit which is individual and free It is therefore obvious that an atlas like this contains first and foremost the names of personalities and reproductions and works of art and that furthermore it contains very special boundaries which sometimes overlap the political economic or geographical ones Certain monuments of thought cannot of their very nature be given a precise location on the map and it is pointless to try to do so In such cases a name on the map and a brief reference in the text must suffice

METHOD The maps form the starting point They are conceived entirely as graphic surveys Each one presents an epoch or a particular aspect of Western culture with emphasis on the centres the frontiers the points of contact and the intellectual *currents reckoned approximately and in general terms*

A close examination of the book will reveal a certain arbitrariness in the inclusion and omission of material in its arrangement and in the relative emphasis laid upon the cultural centres But what the reader sees is something which aims to stimulate his own views rather than to portray the unportrayable He will understand why this or that item is confined to the text or relegated to the index and he will probably be quite unconcerned whether Orlando di Lasso is put by Rome or Munich or Luther by the Wartburg or Wittenberg whether Rabelais is put to the right or left of a Touraine already crowded with historic châteaux or whether Cervantes is put in the neighbourhood of Seville or across the empty space of la Mancha But what does matter is that the historic figures should spring to life before the reader s eyes from among the impressive host of creative spirits who have made the Cinquecento what it means for us today

The text provides a running commentary on the maps The same can be said of the illustrations which of purpose do not provide a complete documentation of art history still less a portrait gallery for such a task would be endless Their function however is to link the well known and the less well known by means of what may be called evocative juxtaposition No other method is possible in order to present clearly many themes at the same time it is necessary to impose a deliberate arrangement *and a certain amount of over emphasis of the most important* elements Restrictions of space are sufficient justification for the format of the illustrations and for the omission of hackneyed exhibits that can easily be found elsewhere

ᵓURPOSE. A simple aid to the understanding of the past really needs no justification. The knowledge of our antecedents ·n indispensable condition for the understanding of the present and for the planning of the future. Despite the advocates ›risk new brooms, the old Latin adage is as true for us today as it was for the Ancient Romans: 'no one truly lives in the sent unless he is mindful of the past.'

.What does demand some indulgence is the compression of the general framework. An attempt to include so much within h a small compass puts a great call upon the patience and imagination of the reader, and also demands a careful and ıost apologetic restraint on the part of publisher and author. No task is so delicate as to attempt to render schematically l within a small compass the broad outlines of a history that is embodied only in monuments of thought, a history which ; no visible battlefields and which follows no strict chronological sequence. It is as if one had to describe the Alps on a gle page, or to give the essence of the *Divina Commedia* in a couple of lectures. It is an impossible task. However much ; intends one's work to be a light and tentative aid to study, the result tends to become either pretentious or superficial.

An atlas is, after all, pr marily a source of information: it contains no thesis and no statement of beliefs. But an atlas our own cultural history implies a conscious'y arranged survey, and every arrangement is in itself a work of the intellect d therefore personal. A survey demands a definite standpoint from which the facts can be observed, and such a standpoint ıst of necessity be that of the writer himself. The limitations, the classification, the relative stress, and even the determin-on of what should be included in the index, all demand a personal standpoint which neither author nor publisher have sought hide, and which the reader can accept for what it is worth.

This standpoint is Western European and not national, because for the nations of the West, despite the markedly national ltures which they have possessed for so long, the words of Antigone to Creon concerning her brothers still holds good:

Οὔτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν[1]

is in their nature not to hate, but to love each other'.

This standpoint is fundamentally Christian, that is to say, it is ultimately determined by a supra-historical reality. It plies that the grandeurs and miseries of human history are not only great but also tragic. This is not only because of e transience of even the best, which is implied in all temporal affairs – cette nocivité intrinsèque du temps – but even more cause of the implications of human freedom.

For the Greeks history was tragic because it was subject to transience and destiny. For Christians the tragedy is not final cause the conflict between the kingdom of darkness and the kingdom of God is still in progress. But in the Christian vision the world, good will eventually triumph over evil, and this ultimate conquest by a positive force, this consciousness that e world is entirely 'redeemed', gives to the Christian vision its distinctive colouring. Within such a vision bygone civili-tions possess their own special meaning, though they are to be judged by something higher than their own relative values.

Fifty years ago, in the heyday of belief in self-sufficient progress, Paul Valéry insisted emphatically on the fact that civi-:ations are mortal. Fifteen hundred years before, St Augustine echoed the same thought when in a simple sermon (and not the famous work which contains one of the few philosophies of history that the West has produced), he summed up the ue function of earthly civilization in a single illuminating phrase: 'an architect builds a durable house with the aid of mporary scaffolding.'[2]

Civilizations are the impressive, complicated and bewildering scaffolding, *machinamenta temporalia*. The house which ses above it is, he maintains, the Eternal City of God.

F. VAN DER MEER

[1] Sophocles, *Antigone* 523 [2] *Sermo* 362 7.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Table of Contents [illegible] general impression [illegible] [illegible] the maps.

[illegible] Hellas, Rome and the [illegible] Christ.

[illegible]

[illegible] Hellenism (map 4).

[illegible] Roman Empire [illegible] Latin [illegible] Hellenism [illegible] the future Latin West (map 5).

[illegible] Christ [illegible] Revelation [illegible] of the Christian Church (maps [illegible]).

The spiritual and intellectual [illegible] which has developed from these three roots [illegible] revealed by the 4th century A.D. and rapidly [illegible] between the 4th and 5th centuries. The synthesis of the three essential elements [illegible] at the same time that the Christian Church emerges as a cultural factor in the [illegible] of late antiquity [illegible] Christian [illegible] and Roman Empire (maps [illegible]). This is the decisive moment [illegible] fact has often been observed since the time of the Italian Renaissance. The centuries [illegible] this [illegible] moment of synthesis do not receive their civilization directly from Hellas, which they did not know, nor from the [illegible] Rome of Augustus, which they could not see as an isolated entity, but from the bilingual and Christian Empire of Constantine and Theodosius, from the Cappadocian Fathers, from the first monks, and from St Augustine.

This first synthesis was more of an accidental meeting than a fusion. Each of the three elements preserved its own force, and the further development of our civilization can be broadly described as the interplay of Hellenism, Latinity and Christian belief, all three developing their own distinctive traditions and yet interpenetrating, modifying, attracting and repelling each other.

The first thing that was lost was the unity of the Empire. The imperial unity was maintained for a short time through the medium of profane literature, the school curriculum, and the new all-embracing faith, but politically, also, it was inevitably broken up. From its very beginning it had been bilingual; the Greek half, which was never entirely under barbarian domination, rapidly separated in almost all fields from the Latin, and survived till 1453 as the Eastern Roman Empire (see maps 14–5 and 17 and cf. map 26). Through the Schism of the Greek Church in 1054 even the religious unity with the West was lost, and in consequence of the rapid and irresistible spread of the Arab world in the 7th century, even the most valuable parts of the Eastern Roman Empire – the very cradle of Hellenism – were lost to Christendom (map 21).

What survived in the 7th and 8th centuries of the impressive but precarious synthesis of the 4th century was firstly the Eastern Roman Empire, threatened on all sides by Islam and the Slavs (maps 17 and 20), and secondly, in the West, the shattered trunk of the Western Roman Empire, trampled underfoot by the barbarians and living on the relics of a bygone culture. The only thing that remained intact was the Church, and it was the Church that was to play the leading role in the coming centuries (map 17).

It is these centuries which see the real birth of Western Europe, and which appear in our history under the strange name of 'the Middle Ages'. It is then that the West becomes, in its own eyes and in the eyes of the rest of the world, a 'Christendom', that is, a moral unity and a sort of wishful prolongation of the old Christianized Empire. This Christendom has not only a single spiritual father, enthroned on the Apostolic Roman See, but also a Roman Emperor – despite the fact that he is but a German crowned at Rome, and that there is also another *Greek* Emperor ruling on the shores of the Bosphorus.

But it is not these [illegible] the unity of belief [illegible] in the unity of culture.

[illegible] from the Latin half of the Empire. [illegible] was determined from the [illegible] Julius Caesar conquered Gaul (map [illegible]) and began the [illegible] of the West was to play such a dom[illegible] Italy and later independently.

The Ancient World [illegible] around the Mediterranean; the Medieval World [illegible] Ireland and [illegible] (map [illegible]), and was on the verge of [illegible] the Saracens, Magyars and Vikings (maps [illegible]) [illegible] to the extreme West [illegible] the North. Then, with the development of trade and [illegible] at least for a time, the spiritual [illegible] occupied exactly the area that [illegible] called the West – a [illegible] Latin half of the old Empire that had, after 800 A.D., become Ro[illegible] (frontispiece).

After the [illegible] of the barbarian [illegible] came the pause for taking [illegible] and it can be said that the 12th century marks the [illegible] of European civilization (map [illegible]). The earlier Carolingian and Ottonian [illegible] (maps [illegible]) had been promptly followed by a [illegible] but it is in the end of the 12th century [illegible] the creative [illegible] of the West [illegible] temporary fluctuations remained stable, and [illegible] from the rest of the world (map [illegible]).

The [illegible] can be seen in the relative shifts of force and [illegible] the three essential elements. The 16th century brought [illegible] the rupture of an important part of the West with the Church, especially [illegible] outside the former Roman Empire (map [illegible]). At the same time there arose a more independent and non-ecclesiastical culture, which [illegible] that Italian cultural movement which has been called [illegible] the Renaissance *par excellence*, but whose primary characteristic is its conscious return to Antiquity. It signifies in fact a revival of the antique and classical element, though less radically than was thought at the time (maps [illegible]). This coincides, too, with the beginning of the [illegible] of Europe (map [illegible] cf. map [illegible]). Renaissance culture merged into that very homogeneous culture which we today call 'Europe', and which centred round the courts of the absolutist monarchies. These monarchies represented the relics of the former unity of Western Christendom, and owed their mutual survival to a sort of balance of power (maps 36, 38–9). The same equilibrium also kept in being a few smaller states, of which the most impressive in many respects, and especially for the history of civilization, was the Republic of the United Provinces (map 37).

So far as the upper classes of society are concerned, the 18th century marks the break with Christian belief, and in France, the break with absolute monarchy. It is there that the bourgeoisie rises to power (maps 40–41). In the 19th century a bourgeois culture flourishes, principally in the fields of literature and music, and often under a traditional guise. In spite of the Idealistic and Romantic Movements, 19th century culture owes its primary allegiance to positive science, which develops according to its own lights the very elements which Hellenic culture after Aristotle had neglected (map 42–46). Historical criticism entirely alters the world picture of the average European. And in virtue of the material and technical discoveries which brought into being the myth of constant 'Progress', the whole appearance of Europe, and later of the entire world, seemed to be more radically and completely altered in the space of eighty years than it had been in the previous two thousand.

After 1900 one may speak of a 'Technical Era'. The predominant features of the present day world are technical efficiency, the proletarian mass, and the quantitative element in general. As a result of this, it demands a conscious effort to see real human activities and purely human values in their true perspective, and not as something unstable, futile and inadequate. Two things have become perfectly clear to everyone since the Second World War: firstly, that the European World has developed into an Atlantic World; and secondly, that the totalitarian state, untempered by classical or christian humanism – that most bitter fruit of our capacity for abstraction – is no longer a matter of speculation, but a frightening reality. It is clear that everyone, who is not isolated in his own specialist technical field, must ask himself what is the precise significance today of each of the three essential elements that go to make the impressive spiritual and intellectual structure in which we live, and outside which we are no longer men.

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE MAPS

Topograph cal and h t rical details ar g en n *bla k* monument and personal t e are gi en in *red* As far a pos bl both ar arrang d chro ologi l and placed be de tl e local t t h c he be o g Whe e th s not poss ble sa a ts art sts and n onuments are grouped sep r ly and placed n near to the countr concern d

GENERAL SIGNS

- The ze of the d t does not ind cate the ze or populat on of a own but s relat e cultu al mportance n a g en epoch Th ame t d good f r chate us abbe and her cen
- Stre e gn fic nce th a p rt cula p ch hen placed n front of a name
- cha e u when laced by ame of to e dence
- abbe c en pr ory
- d ocese
- archd oce e
- patr archate
- un ers ty
- un vers ty to n re idence and archd ocese
- monun ent and centres of the I l l
- ruins af er a n m des royed or d appea ed

ABBREVIATIONS (n red)

arch arch tect
b born
b p b hop
BVM Blessed Virgin Mary
cath cathedr l
card ca d na cem cen ete y
ch church
chap ch pel
chem chemistry
cl clo ster
con p completed comp et on
co nc counc
dr doctor
dr m dramat t
e l ed o
f founded
faç façade
fres fresco
h hh house houses
HE H storia Eccles ast ca
hist h storian
Hôt Hôtel
m myst c
med — med cal med ne
n ath — matl emat c l ma hemat s
MS MSS manu cript manuscripts
mos mosa c
mus mus n
N Nobel Prize winne
NS N a S ra B d V g n Mar
NT Ne Testan n
OC C terc an
OCarth Cartl u an
OFM Franc sc n
OP Dom n can
OSB Ben dict ne
OT Old Testan en
p po t
p p ace
ph l ph losophe
phys ph s
print pr n er
psych — ps ch t
rec recon t u t d rebu lt
S St Sa nt
scr screen
scul sc lpture
SM San a Mar
syn synod
t temple
tap tape try
t h to vn hall
tr — transept
u un = un ers ty
r wr ter

For spec al n a d abbre at ons see ind d al ap

ILLUSTRATIONS

The figures n the m rg n of the text ref r to the l ustrat ons On each page of llu tr ons there s al o an nd cat on of the m p(to wh h they refer

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ARCHAIC GREECE
& Greek Colonization
800 480 B C

scythae
chersonesus taurica
etrusci
volsc
baleares
magna grecia
epirus
Delphi
Athenae
creta
rhodus
Homeric poems VIII
cyprus
aegyptus
Syracusae
Carthago
Akragas
Crotone
Sybaris
Capua
Elea
Miletus
Phocaea
Hadrumetum
Hippo Regius
Leuce

Academia

Plato 427 347

Lycabettus

Ceramicus

Stoa Poecile

murus Themistoclis

murus llissi

Marathon

acropolis

Lyceum

Aristotle 384-322

Peripatetics Theophrastus of Eresus 372 287 & followers

Parthenon

athenae

Stadium 340 30

Gymnasium

ATHENS

2

macedonia

thracia

paphlagonia

bithynia

epirus

phrygia

mysia

phrygia

thessalia

lesbus

lydia

euboea

Ephesus

caria

pisidia

pamphylia

cilicia

Akragas

Syracusae

cyclades

rhodus

carpathus

creta

cyprus

Cyrene

Aristippus 435 366

Theodorus Atheos

THE GREEK WORLD

at its Zenith

480-330 B.C.

0 250km

3



The striking perfection of the heads and of the general composition of Greek coinage have made it the model for all coins and medals even to the present day 1/ Tetradrachma from Caulonia, VIth cent 2/ Tetradrachma from Athens VIth cent 3-4/ Tetradrachma from Syracuse late Vth cent 5-6/ Tetradrachma from Naxos ca 450 7/ Tetradrachma from Pergamum Hellenistic [cf maps 1 3]

THE THREE ROOTS

HELLAS

A sea without mist or tide full of little islets poor tortuous valleys planted with vines olives and fig trees straggling down to a coast heavily indented with bays and peninsulas an inaccessible hinterland and in the valleys and beyond small compact cities which are connected to each other almost solely by the sea routes such is the land where our civilization began

It was a city civilization The miracle took place in the *poleis* the cities and the national pride of the Greek was centred primarily on his native city

Two things gave the Greek world its characteristic appearance two things which stand out at once from the map of the archaic Greek world colonization and the Homeric poems

Colonization is the first great fact in Greek history The sea called them and the hunger for land drove them Commercial success followed later and eventually when the wealth began to stream into the mother cities and the Greeks had driven the Phoenicians out of the eastern half of the Mediterranean (the Phoenicians still held the western half – see map) there remained the urge to achieve and to discover more than all other nations The Greeks were everywhere from the three-cornered island Trinakria the modern Sicily to the west coast of Caucasia Their colonies bordered on widely separated shores and sometimes on shores opposed to each other and there were a few remote outposts But although so eager for the new and the unknown the Greeks remained everywhere true to themselves – they called the non Greeks barbaroi that is jabberers

The interallied cities were made conscious of their unity through their common language and above all through that amazing masterpiece the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* composed in an artificial dialect based on Ionic Greek The Homeric poems express a way of life that belongs to the Greeks themselves and yet which shows them as typical human beings whom we today can understand For although the Gilgamesh is for us too extravagant and the Egyptian Book of the Dead grandiose and alien we can recognize ourselves in the characters of Homer except that they belong to a simpler and an older world

The Homeric poems created not only the first consciousness of a Greek nation but also the national personalities of the Gods The Gods are royal dynasties elevated in divine beauty but always human and totally unlike the overwhelming cosmic dieties worshipped in the gloomy temples of the East The Greek religion is perhaps that very aspect of the Greeks which we can least understand today But we must distinguish three very different elements

Firstly the ancient local rites which were sacrosanct although they had often changed their original significance or lost their significance altogether But the existence of the city the family and the individual depended upon them To neglect their performance was to incur the sin of *hubris* or pride – to deface the sacred things was unforgivable This fear of sacrilege and honour for higher and unknown powers themselves subject to an obscure Fate constitutes one of the genuine and human moments of Greek life and as such has its value for us Socrates who saw through the Greek mythology nevertheless kept up the religious rites The fact that he made his offering of a cock to *Asklepios* at the very moment he was to suffer death on a charge of atheism was an act of piety and not just the performance of a quaint custom

The second element the mythology was indeed a poetic game just as the Golden Legend was in the Middle Ages and everyone recognized it as such

A third element was the philosophical religion which eventually dominated the mysteries – for the secret initiation rites such as the highly honoured Eleusinian mysteries were originally a fertility mystery and specifically Greek This philosophical religion was also expressed by such tragic dramatists as Aeschylus and in such poems as the hymn of Cleanthes It was entirely an affair of the élite and brings us to the summit of natural religion

Though of foreign origin the mysteries of Dionysus with their orgies and frenzied trances were spiritualized by orphism Pythagoras the sage of Croton preached the life attuned to cosmic harmony The national athletic and poetic competitions had also something of a religious significance They took place next to such panhellenic sanctuaries as Delphi and Olympia The ancient drama too had a ritual origin like the mystery plays of the Middle Ages

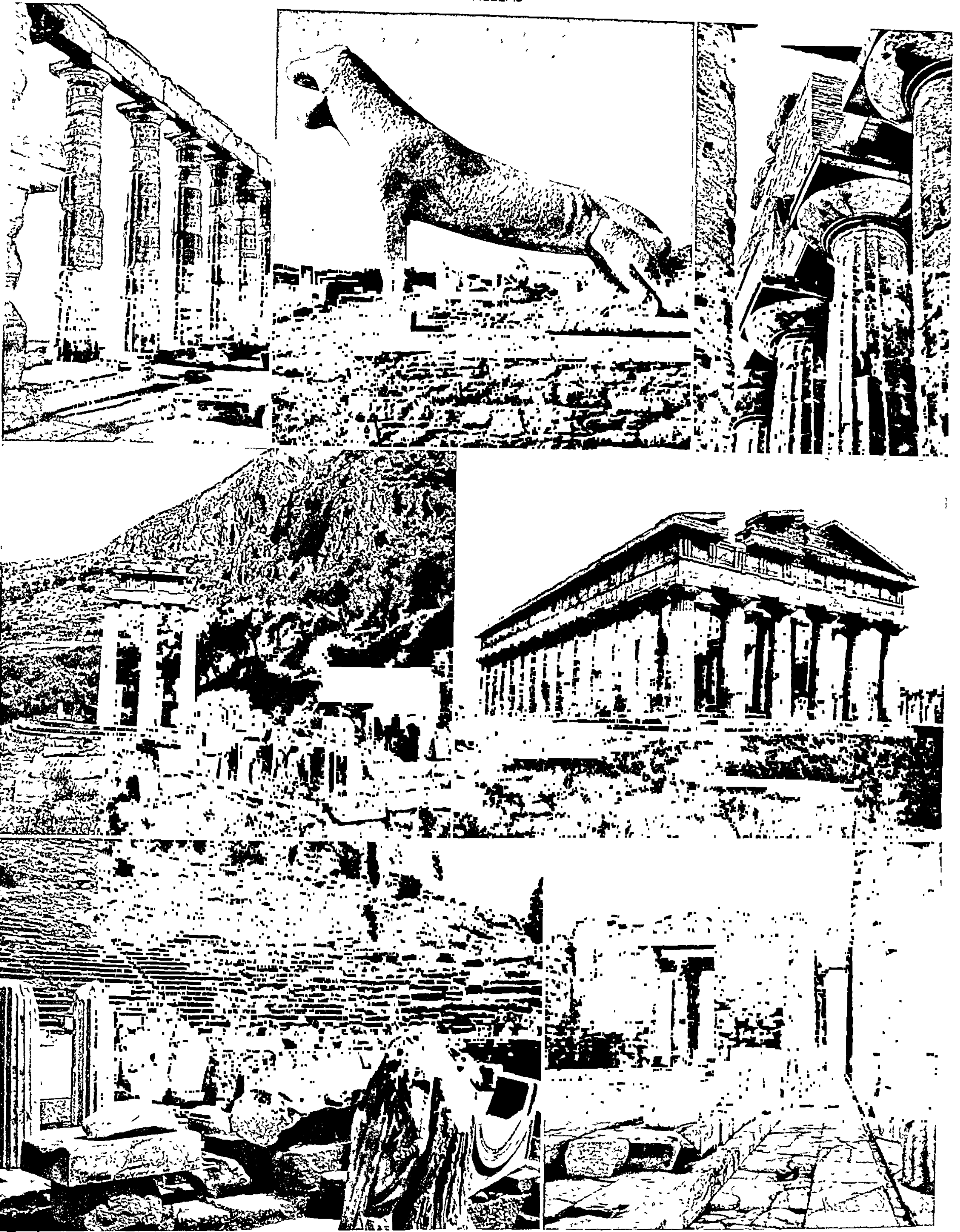
Industry art and literature all begin in Ionia From the same region also come the pre socratic philosophers the so called natural philosophers who were the first to give us an explanation of the universe which owed nothing to the ancient myths Thales Anaximander (who drew the first map) and the rationalist Xenophanes founder of the school of Elea in southern Italy 8 14
Poetry from its very beginning was essentially individualistic it sang of the personal life and the personal passions We of today can understand at once the voices of Sappho Alcaeus Archilochus and Anacreon As for architecture the ruins of the gigantic Doric temples still stand in the great centres of the archaic Greek world in Sicily at Paestum and even in Hellas itself and they serve to remind us of that decisive and supremely Greek achievement the creation of an architecture with columns and architraves triumphing over the inertness of matter

At the zenith of the Greek world (maps 2 3) Athens the capital of Attica is the unrivalled centre Though the masterpieces of their archaic art – charming figures of young people *kouroi* and *korai* were buried under the rubble left by the Persians in 480 B C the evolution of the plastic form was not hindered On the same spot the Acropolis there arose within a few years the Parthenon the Propylaea and the Erechtheum From thence came the numberless statues which the Ancient World could never forget although we today know many of them only through second rate copies They are statues which move us as much by their superhuman beauty as by their calm assured naturalness which poses no problems has no message to express and is non predicative as Curtius says

At Athens lived virtually all the great thinkers of the age including those 15 30
born elsewhere Their names will be found on the map grouped around the famous schools which they founded and which flourished after them They are the decisive names for all ages Heraclitus Democritus Anaxagoras Socrates then a generation later Plato Antisthenes Diogenes and Epicurus finally Aristotle the master of those that know as Dante calls him

Classical tragedy begins when Aeschylus introduced a second player between the reader and the chorus Sophocles and Euripides follow and somewhat 34
later the ebullient topical comedy appears At Athens too in 430 B C Herodotus publishes his unrivalled history of the past But there is no point in describing further what is already on the map

What do we owe to the Greeks? Primarily that we are ourselves that we are human beings worthy of the name for all humanism goes back to the Greeks The Greek of the fifth century is not awed by the universe He has nothing to do with magic and has no fear of the stars He submits calmly to Destiny piously fulfils the traditional rites but none the less weaves beautiful legends around his gods He orders the sum of his experience around a single point man Order the typical work of the intellect was the true passion of the Greek For his oriental neighbours the universe was a plaything of implacable gods For the Greek however it was a *cosmos* a perfectly ordered mensurable entity that could be explored and expressed in mathematical terms



On certain parts of the coast, on the islands, in the old centres of Ancient Hellas — Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Milete, and the Sicilian towns — and especially on the Acropolis, there still stand the weatherbeaten relics of Greek architecture, now faithfully preserved. But the sculpture is missing and the colours have faded. The temenos of the temple is merely an empty space strewn with the debris of columns and pedestals; the celebrated statues and groups are usually only known to us through Roman copies. **8/** Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sunion. **9/** Delos, archaic lion. **10/** Temple of Ceres, Paestum. **11/** Delphi, *ruins of the tholos, 400-390.* **12/** *Temple of Poseidon,* Paestum, one of the best preserved *Doric* temples of the Vth cent. **13/** Athens, Theatre of Dionysus, 350-324. **14/** Athens, the Parthenon; on the right the northern colonnade, 447-438.

[cf. maps 1-3]







15
16
17











15/ Head of blond youth Museum of the Acropol s Athens 480 **16/** Protocorinthian vase with black f gures Rome Museo di V lla Giulia. From Veji VIth cent **17/** The Kore of Euthydicus Museum of the Acropolis Athens *like no 15 an example of the trans tion from archa c over-ref nement to classical* **18/** *The Ludovisi throne rear v ew with B rth of Aphrod te* 450-440 Rome Museo delle Terme **19/** Part of the Parthenon frieze w th Poseidon Dionysus and Demeter By Ph dias before 432 **20/** Att c krater with mult coloured figures Hermes brings the young Dionysus to Silenus *such vases g ve some idea of the great masterpieces of pa nt ng which have been lost* Rome Vatican **21/** The Apollo of Olympia Vth cent. **22/** Detail of the krater from Orvieto the Argonauts In red 480

[cf maps I 3]

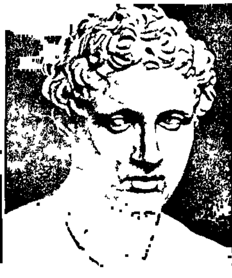


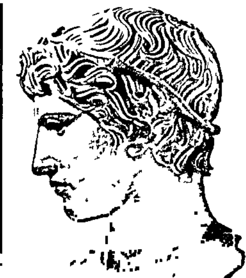




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36

27/ Niobe and her youngest daughter. Roman copy of a late Vth cent. original. Florence, Uffizi. 28/ Nereid on a sea-horse, acroterium from the Temple of Asklepius at Epidaurus, ca. 375. Athens, National Museum. 29/ Artemis. Roman copy of a IVth cent. original. Paris, Louvre. 30/ Cnidian Aphrodite, detail. Roman copy of an original by Praxiteles. Rome, Vatican. 31/ Mars Ludovisi. Roman copy of IVth cent. original. Rome, Museo delle Terme. 32/ Head of an athlete, bronze, late Vth cent. Paris, Louvre. 33/ Niobide (?). Roman copy of a Vth cent. original. Rome, Vatican. 34/ Sophocles. Roman copy. *Typical statue of an author* (cf. no. 36). Rome, Lateran Museum. 35/ The Winged Victory of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre. 36/ Demosthenes. Roman copy. Rome, Vatican.
[cf. maps I 3]



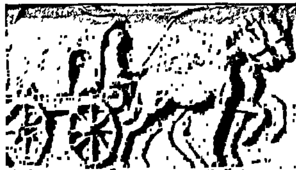

37/ Castellum bridgehead at Deutz on the Rhine. Model 38/ Tenement house at the port of Ostia 39/ Courtyard of the Horrea Epagathiana at Ostia with mosaic pavement

ROME

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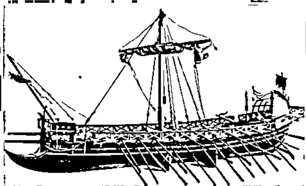
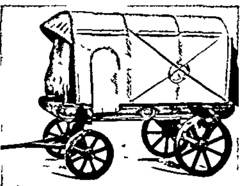
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40/ Roman carriage. Roman relief. Klagenfurt. Maria Saal 41/ Roman Aeolian organ. Aquincum (Alt Ofen, Hungary) 42/ Silver service from the Hildesheim Treasure. Berlin 43/ Gladiator's helmet. Model 44/ Roman naval galley. Model 45/ Carruca dormitoria (travelling carriage). Model (*cf. no. 40*) [cf. map 5]



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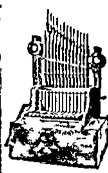
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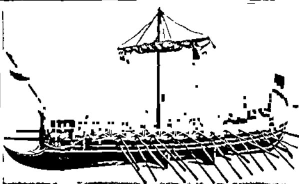
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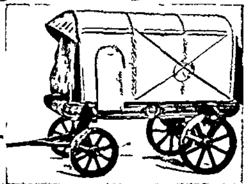












40/ Roman carriage. Roman relief. Klagenfurt, Maria Saal. 41/ Roman Aeolian organ. Aquincum (Alt Ofen, Hungary). 42/ Silver service from the Hildesheim Treasure. Berlin. 43/ Gladiator's helmet. Model. 44/ Roman naval galley. Model. 45/ Carruca dormitoria (travelling carriage). Model (*cf. no. 40*) [cf. map 5]



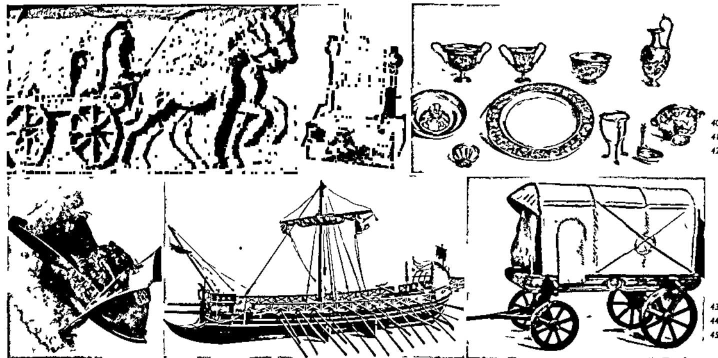
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THE ROMAN EMPIRE
27 BC - 313 AD.



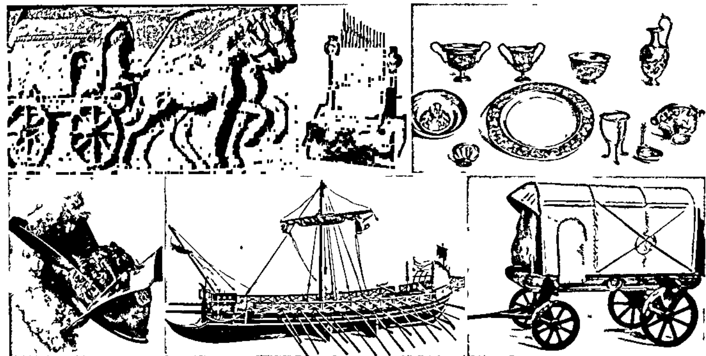
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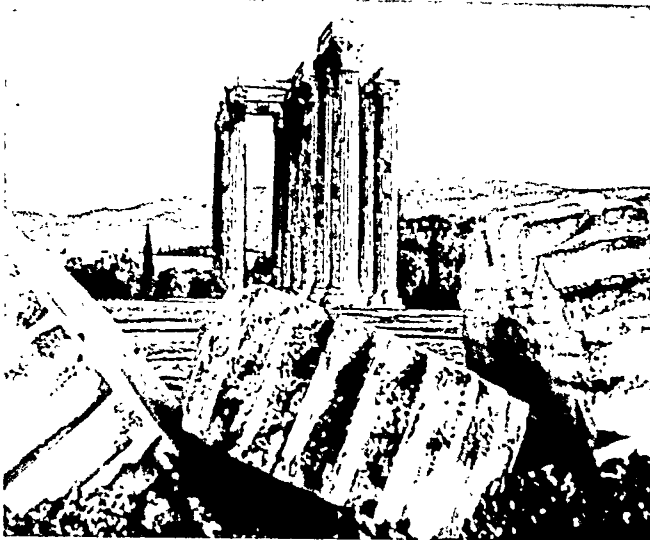
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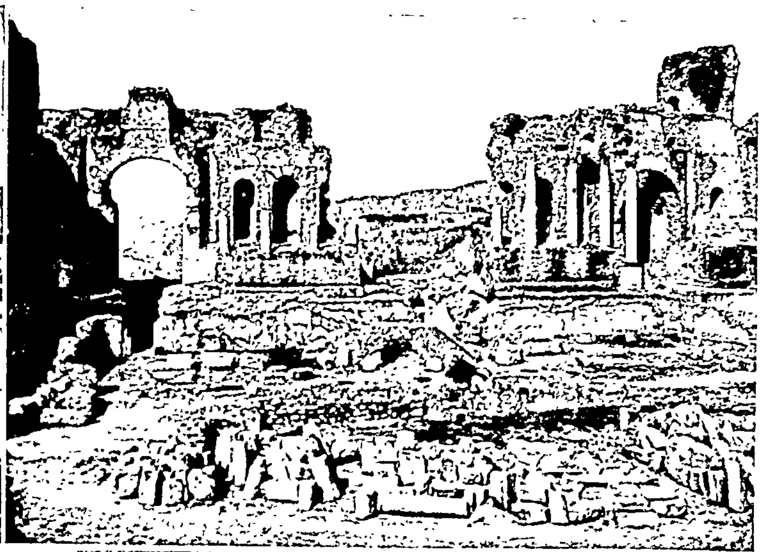
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Typical Hellenistic art. 46/ On the colossal scale: Temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens. 174 B.C.-140 A.D. 47/ *Even small towns had their theatre*: Proscenium of the theatre at Taormina in Sicily. 48/ *Genre work*: Child with the Goose, after an Alexandrine work. Paris, Louvre. 49/ *Pathos*: The Death of the Gaul and his Wife. Roman copy of a group from Pergamum, IIIrd cent. *cf. The Dying Gaul*, Rome, Museo delle Terme. 50/ Eros drawing his bow. Roman copy of a IVth cent. original, by Lysippus(?). Paris, Louvre. 51/ *Realistic but slightly heroic portrait*: Pyrrhus. Naples, National Museum. 52/ *Pathetic realism*: Head of a Hero, 1st cent. B.C. Paris, Louvre. 53/ *One of the most realistic portraits of the Diadochi*, perhaps Antiochus III. Found in Italy, IIIrd cent. B.C. Paris, Louvre.

[cf. map 4]







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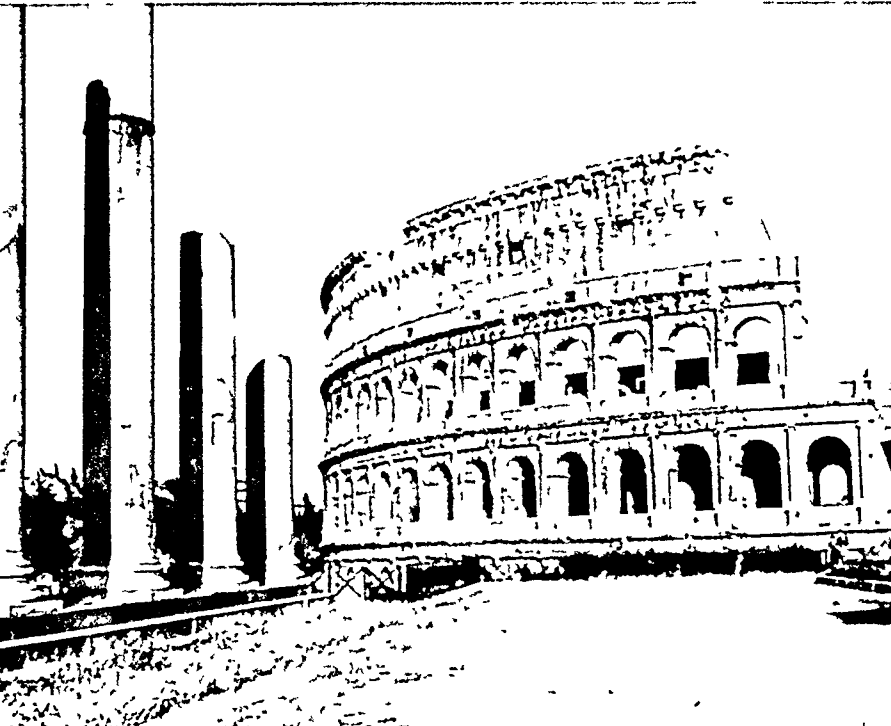




54/ Julius Caesar Berlin 55/ Augustus as Pont fex Maximus Rome Museo delle Terme 56/ Bust of Brutus(?) Rome [illegible] 57 [illegible] (cameo) Under the s gn of Capricorn Augustus is crowned by the Orbis Romanus (the civilized world) on his left [illegible] manicus and T berius stepping from a triumphal chariot below soldiers raising a trophy among the conquered [illegible] 58 [illegible] the Ara Pacis the imperial family surrounded by priests 59/ Marcus Aurelius sacrificing on the Capitol Rome [illegible] Capitolino 61/ The 'Grand Camée de France Apotheosis of Augustus and his family Centre Tiberius Livia [illegible] Paris Cabinet des Méda lles















62/ The Pont du Gard, near Nimes (Gard, France), combined aquaduct and bridge 63/ Arles, the Roman Arelate, with theatre and amphitheatre (right) 64/ Amphitheatrum Fla
vium or Colosseum, Rome 70 80 65/ Arch of Hadrian at Beneventum in Campania *perfect specimen of official imperial art Note monumental inscription* 66/ Paris and the nymph
Oenone, below, her father, the river god Kebren *example of the Alexandrine idyllic genre Note the landscape, architecture and galley* Rome, Palazzo Spada 67/ Prima Porta near
Rome, fresco of the Villa of Livia *example of elaborate interior decoration and of detailed observation of nature* 68/ Mural in stucco from a house (the 'Farnesina') in the Trastevere
showing scenes borrowed from the cult of Dionysus Rome, Museo delle Terme

[cf map 5]





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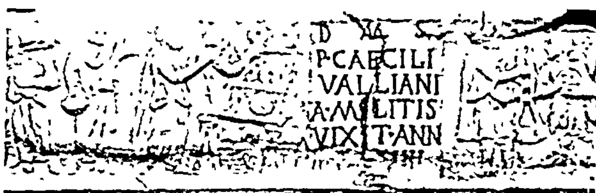




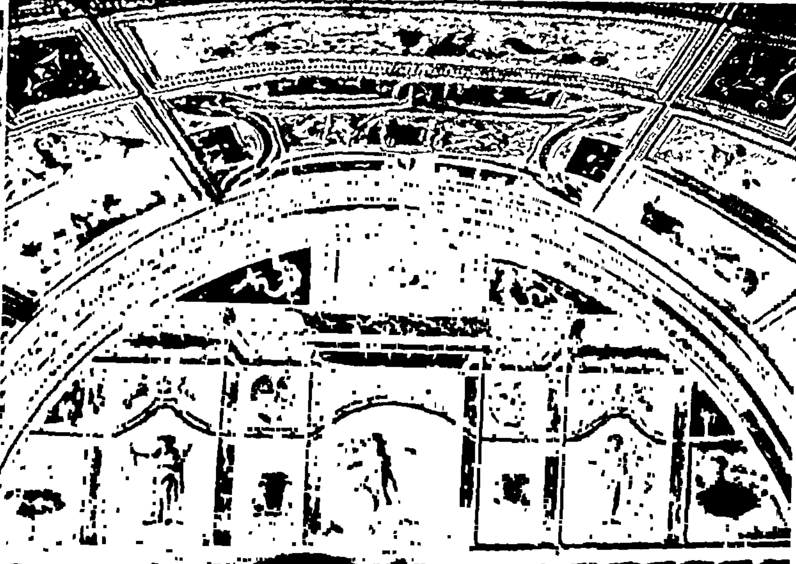












75/ Sarcophagus with the effigies of the deceased and the allegory of Achilles preferring the heroic life to the effeminate life of the court of Lycomedes, 193-211. Rome, Museo Capitolino. **76/** Sarcophagus with the myth of Orestes. Rome, Lateran Museum. **77/** Mosaic pavement from a bath at Antioch: Hermes carrying the young Dionysus. Late IIIrd cent. **78/** Bust of Alexander Severus. *The vacant, staring mask is typical for the whole IIIrd cent.* Rome, Museo Capitolino. **79/** Fragment of a sarcophagus, with the Labours of Hercules: *example of IIIrd cent. baroque effects of light and shade.* Rome, Lateran Museum. **80/** Fragment of sarcophagus, with funeral banquet and allegory of life dedicated to the Muses. Rome, Lateran Museum. **81/** Stucco decoration of a funeral vault in the tomb of the Anicii, on the Via Latina. Below, Silenus, Victoria and Apollo.

[cf. map 5]

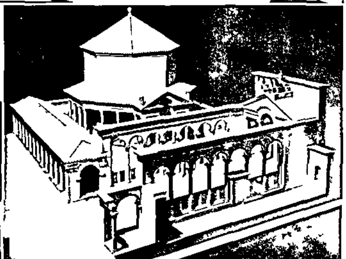




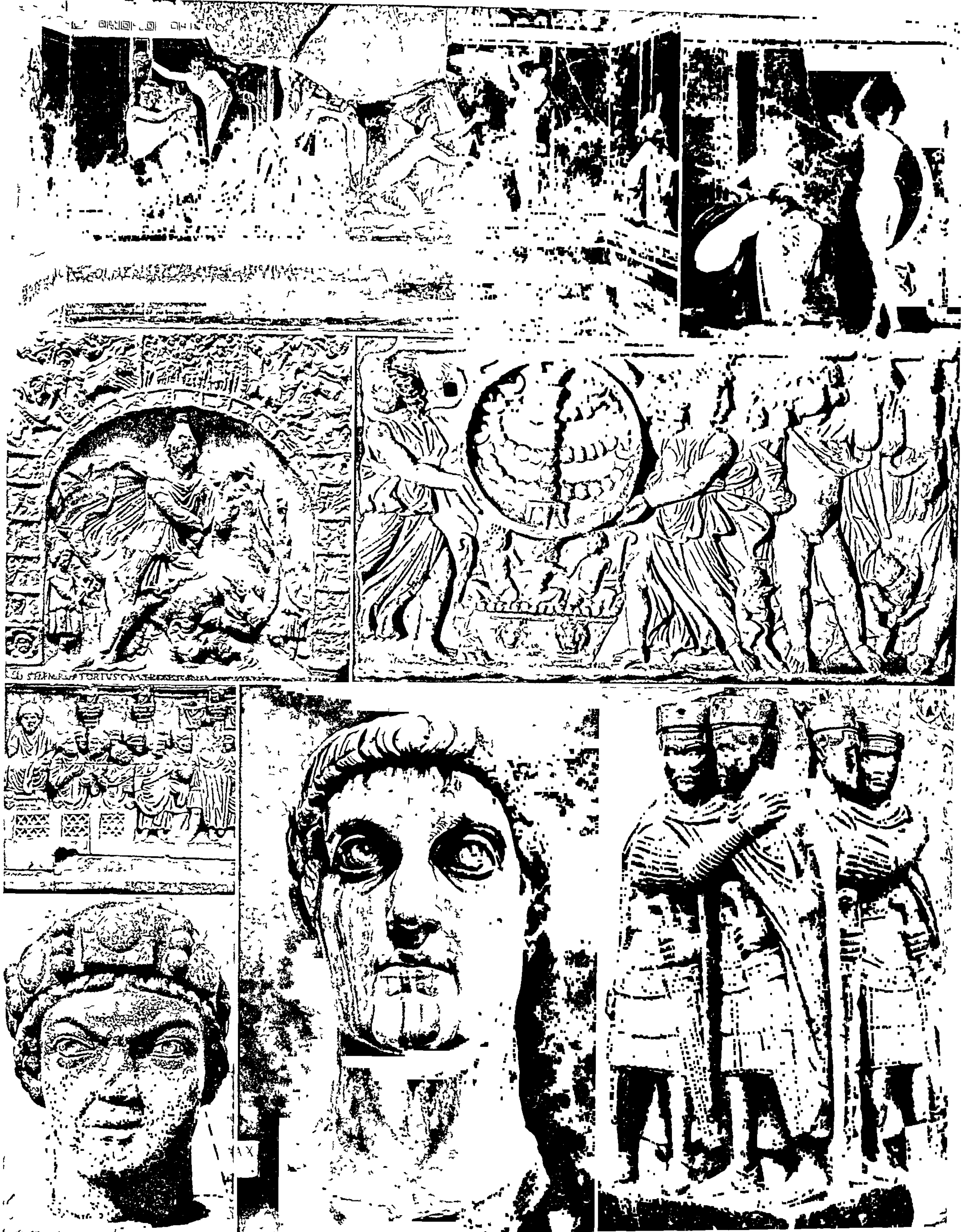








82/ Djerash in Transjordania the ancient Gerasa with its imposing Roman ruins 83/ Baalbek the ancient Heliopolis with the gigantic ruins of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and other Roman sanctuaries of lesser importance 84/ The Pantheon at Rome 120-125 *preserved almost entirely intact Walls 6 metres thick height and breadth 43 metres (height of Amiens Cathedral 43 metres height of Dome of St Peter's 119 metres)* 85/ Basilica of Maxentius completed by Constantine 306-320 with concrete walls and vaults span of arches 23 metres Rome Forum Romanum 86/ Baths of Caracalla ruins of centre portion 206-216 Rome 87/ Spalato (Dalmatia) Mausoleum of Diocletian in the centre of his palace ca 300 Model *Note the arcades resting on columns in place of the classical architrave (cf no 83)* [cf map 5]



Religion and Emperor-worship. 88/ Fresco at Pompei depicting the initiation rite of the mysteries of Dionysus 2nd half of IInd cent. B C. 89/ Detail from no. 88 90/ Votive stele depicting the god Mithra *slaying the bull and surrounded by other episodes from his life.* Found at Osterburken in the Odenwald. Karlsruhe. 91/ Jewish sarcophagus with the genii of the Seasons grouped round the seven-branched candlestick. Rome, Museo delle Terme 92/ Fragment from frieze of Constantine's Triumphal Arch (the Emperor on right), 312-315. *Example of hieratic style.* 93/ Head of the Emperor in porphyry, of uncertain date (IVth, VIth or Xth cent.). Venice, St Mark's. 94/ Head from a colossal statue of Constantine. Rome, Palazzo Capitolino. 95/ The Four Tetrarchs. Porphyry, ca. 300 Venice, St. Mark's. Opposite page 96/ Detail from a sarcophagus depicting a Roman general during a battle with the barbarians. IIIth cent. Rome, Museo delle Terme.

[cf. map 5]





97 View over the hills of Judea. 98 Landscape in Galilee: the Plain of Esdraelon near Nazareth. 99 Wadi el-Qelt near Jericho. This deep gorge runs from the Plain of Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, which is below sea-level. In the foreground is the Greek monastery of [illegible]. 100 The great mosque at Hebron, built over the tomb of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and surrounded by a wall built by Herod the Great shortly before the birth of Christ. 101 The convent of St Catherine at the foot of the summit of Mt Sinai; below, to the left of the tower, the basilica built by Justinian in the VIth cent., with mosaic of the Transfiguration in the apse. 102 Jerusalem, Haram-esh-Sharif, square built on the foundation of the Temple of Herod, with Mosque of Omar of VIIth cent. (cf. no. 2024). 103 Jerusalem, the old city.





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104/ Bethlehem Church of the Nativity The church (centre w thout tower) was built under Constantine and rebuilt under Justinian *(for inter or cf no 129)* **105/** Bethlehem Church of the Nativity Interior of the Grotto of the Nativity *The Greek altar stands on the spot considered to be that of the Nativ ty* **106/** The Jordan at the spot traditionally consi dered to be where the Baptism of Christ took place **107/** Jerusalem the Church of the Holy Sepulchre *The Greek altar stands on the summit of the Rock of Calvary* **108/** Jerusalem the Via Dolorosa *the street that since the middle ages has been considered to be the Way of the Cross* **109/** Jerusalem Church of the Holy Sepulchre. *The altar within the small ed cula from the XVIIth cent., bu lt on the site of the memoria of Constantine ins de the rotunda of the Anastas s of which only a small wing has been preserved (cf no 135).* **110/** Jerusalem small mosque on the Mount of Olives on the site of the Ascension

[cf maps 6-7]

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Portraits of Christ 300-1200 111/ *The earliest, unhistorical type, depicting the eternal youth of the Word (Logos)*: detail from a IVth cent. sarcophagus. Lateran Museum, Rome. 112/ *The more historical type the bearded Teacher throned in the Heavenly Jerusalem amidst the twelve apostles*, detail from a IVth cent. sarcophagus at Arles. 113/ *The historical type, probably connected with the legend of the portrait sent to King Abgar of Edessa.* Detail from a mosaic in the apse of Sta. Pudenziana, Rome. Ca. 400. 114/ *Persistence of the youthful type*: the Lord crushing underfoot the Lion and the Serpent (Ps. 90). Mosaic in the chapel of the archbishop at Ravenna, VIth cent. 115/ *The Pantokrator, the forceful Deutero-Byzantine type.* Cathedral at Cefalù (cf no 364), XIIth cent. 116/ Palermo, Cappella Palatina, XIIth cent.

[cf. map 6-8]

at least, as the Romans were concerned), worthy of the source from which it had sprung Cato the Elder may have despised the 'graeculi', but the educated Roman of the Empire sent his children to schools where Greek was learnt first, and where even the Latin authors were studied according to Hellenistic methods In fact, in the strict sense of the word, the whole Latin culture was dependent upon the Greek It has been said, and rightly, that the schoolmaster's rod was mightier than the sword and *fasces* of the militaristic Roman Empire – for the Empire crumbled, and the school remained

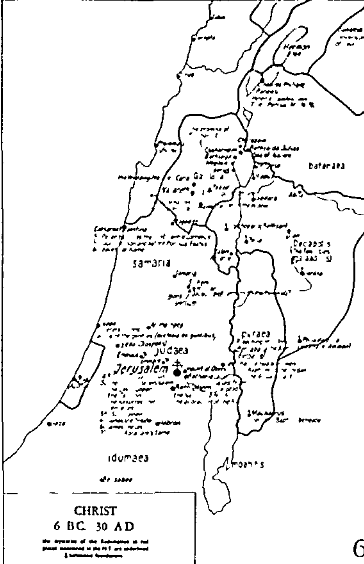
The Romans were in their element when they could build, order, make laws, and rule. They were also past masters in the art of portrait painting and in whatever went towards the creation of an official propaganda art for the Empire. As for architecture, they excelled in arches and vaulting, and they used the Greek orders only as decorative elements. Whoever sees the enormous ruins of their baths, forums, and amphitheatres, and compares them with the simple, elegant and variegated Greek buildings, realizes that in comparison with the idealistic and perfectionist Greeks, the Romans are but clever businesslike engineers

The Roman portraits, especially those of the time of Augustus, compel our respect for the couple of thousand aristocrats who ran the Empire, and they make us feel something of the majesty which surrounds the Roman name What impresses us most are not the idealized figures on the Attic model which were so prized a hundred and fifty years ago, but rather these testimonies to the realism and self-knowledge of the Romans. The portraits of the later Empire too, which herald the inevitable Decline and Fall, attract our attention most strikingly today as the first documents of mediaeval expressionism.

The concern for the highest spiritual values which we find in the literature of the third century, and which reveals itself in the development of neo-Platonism (Plotinus lived at Rome about 240), is also to be found in the sculpture on the innumerable surviving sarcophagi of the period. Besides their strong mythical evocations, the subtle allegory of these numerous reliefs generally expresses an acceptance of the heroic life, or a belief in the significance of the spiritual life. Apart from a certain cynicism, the faces of the portraits in this fateful epoch express what may be taken either for noble resignation or else for despair. Towards the end of the third century we find the hieratic style which Diocletian introduced into his court, which later develops into the court style of Constantine and his epigones.

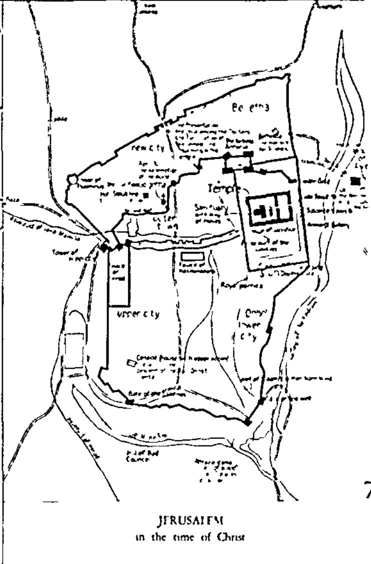
Thus, for posterity, Rome is not solely a universal framework in which a truncated Hellenism obtained a further lease of life. It not only gave the Southern 'romance' lands the appearance which they have today; it has not only shaped the geography of the most valuable part of Europe and prepared the future administrative framework of the Church; it had also created the Latin *virtus*, the realistic and solid outlook of the Latin world.

Finally, we must not forget that it was Rome which preserved our civilization through the barbarian ages, and that it was Latin which was the basis of all higher culture till the predominance of French in the eighteenth century. After the days of Augustus, a language of peasants, officials and schoolmasters became a language of classical prose writers and of conquerors – it was the language of Cicero, Virgil and Tacitus, and then of the Roman Church and of St Leo and St Augustine.



CHRIST
6 BC 30 AD

6



7

JERUSALEM
in the time of Christ

THE APOSTLES
church and synagogue 30-100

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY 30-325

britannia
Colonia Agrippina (Cologne)
gallia
raetia
pannonia
dacia
107-275
illyricum
moesia
hispania
Tarraco
thracia
galatia
armenia
macedonia
phrygia
syria
Antiochia
Edessa
osrhoena
Damascus
Carthago
africa
Syracusae
Alexandria
aegyptus
Hierosolyma

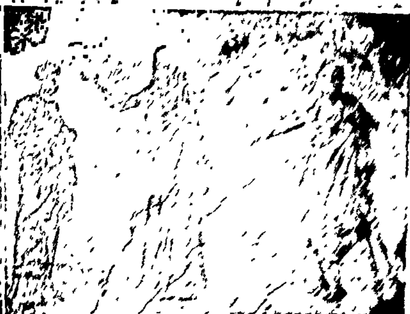
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ROMAN CEMETERIES, II-V CENTS AND THEIR MARTYRS

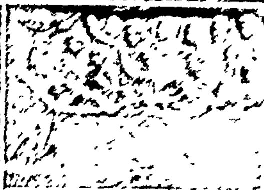
Peter
Calepodi Calixtus pope Julius
Basilides
Processus Martinianus
Pancratius
Abdon & Sennen
Felix
Lucinae
Commodillae
Felix & Adauctus
Timothy?
Paul
Theclae
Simplicius Faustinus
Beatrix Rufinus
Generosae
Cyriacus Largus Smaragdus
Crescentianus
John & Paul
Ciriacae
Laurence
Hyppolytus
Concordius
Castulus
Marcellinus & Peter
Tiburtius
Gorgonius
Zoticus
Gordianus Epimachus
Quartus, Quintus
Eugenia
Jovinus, Basileus
Nemesius
Mark
Marcellianus
(Balbinae)
Vibian
Parthenius & Calocerus
Praetextati
Januarius Agapitus & Felicissimus
Tiburtius Valerianus, Maximus, Quirinus
Via Appia Pignatelli
Domitillae
Nereus & Achilleus
Petronilla
Catacumbas
Peter & Paul
Sebastian
Vigna Cimarra
Soteris
Trebi Just

10









CHRIST

The Incarnation of God is the fact on which Western Man has based his calendar since the sixth century. This decision is more than symbolic: the Incarnation splits the history of civilization into two distinct parts. But it is, of course, primarily a fact in the realm of belief For the believer this fact, besides its significance for his own life, is the key to the history of the whole world For the unbeliever it is . . what?

The coming of Christ to a remote country with an old prophetic culture, known but misunderstood, and into the middle of a despised people, did not immediately attract attention, though it was not wholly imprepared for. As St John writes in his Gospel, it was no theophany, but an appearance in glory 'full of grace and truth'. His signs veiled as much as they revealed, for their object was to attract attention without overwhelming the onlooker. Divine Revelation chose the roundabout paths of freely given love. The reason why He was 'received by his own' remains a mystery, the mystery of Faith. We cannot explain why the man healed of his blindness, who had asked a moment before 'Who is it, Lord, that I may believe in Him', kneeled before Him a moment later Of that mystery the Master said: 'No one comes to me unless my Father leads him '

As far as we know, the Master came only once into contact with the Greeks – he had not come upon earth to preserve or to save a human culture But His coming, and the new humanity which began with Him, changed at once the whole appearance of the ancient world in its decline, and modified the contemporary culture Much to the amazement of the Jews and pagans, there entered into society at the end of the first century A D a new category of men, whom they called at Antioch (maps 8–9) 'christianoi' or 'christians' Their appearance has been depicted for us a thousand times, so that we are all familiar with it But we do not get a true impression of them from the words of Celsus, their enemy, nor from the letter to Diogenes, and not even from the writings of those who describe them as one out of the many more or less secret religions of the period which they avoided like the plague What distinguished the Christians from the others was the Lord, always the Lord They deserved their name – their world is that of the Christ of the Gospels

The Scripture, and the development of a hierarchic community, are the two decisive factors in the new Christian culture. The Scripture, which goes so far back into the past, recalled at every moment that salvation was to come from the Jews: the law and the prophets were not to be abolished, but to be visibly fulfilled in Christ. It was only now, after the Old Testament had been translated into Greek at Alexandria (the so-called Septuagint), had been read throughout the world in all synagogues, and had been complemented by the New Testament, that Scripture began to play its part in human culture. The first Christians never forgot to read the Old Testament in the light of the New; that explains why allegorical interpretation and the analogy of the two Testaments are so emphasized in the Ancient Church. The result was that the Bible entered into the Graeco-Roman sensibility as an entirely new imaginative world. Almost all that is to be seen and heard during the following millenary goes back in one way or another to a text or an image from Scripture.

As for the spiritual life of these new men, the gods, heroes and demons held no place, the divinized emperors were simply honourable heads of state, and literature and the arts were but perishable things. The pagans were right when they accused the Christians of despising all worldly things as being futile and illusory; the first generation had to keep themselves 'unspotted from the world', for their allegiance and their true home lay elsewhere. Those who took the trouble to investigate found in the Christians an indomitable faith, a great inner peace, irreproachable morals, and an unforgettable love of their neighbour which surpassed all barriers of class and race and ultimately triumphed even over the hauteur of the Roman patricians. It was an honour for them to be witnesses for their faith; their apostles were not the bishops but the layfolk, and the Christian message spread from man to man. Whenever it was necessary, and the tragic conflicts with the State, chiefly over the question of emperor worship, made it so, they bore witness no longer with words, but with blood Despite the sarcasms of Marcus Aurelius, and later Voltaire, and despite the fact that the catacombs – the customary graveyards – are filled with thousands of simple believers and but few martyrs, the Church up to the Edict of Toleration of 311–313 certainly deserves the title of 'the Church of the martyrs'. The names of the most venerated are to be found on maps 10 and 13 – none of them is forgotten by the Church.

THE FIRST SYNTHESIS

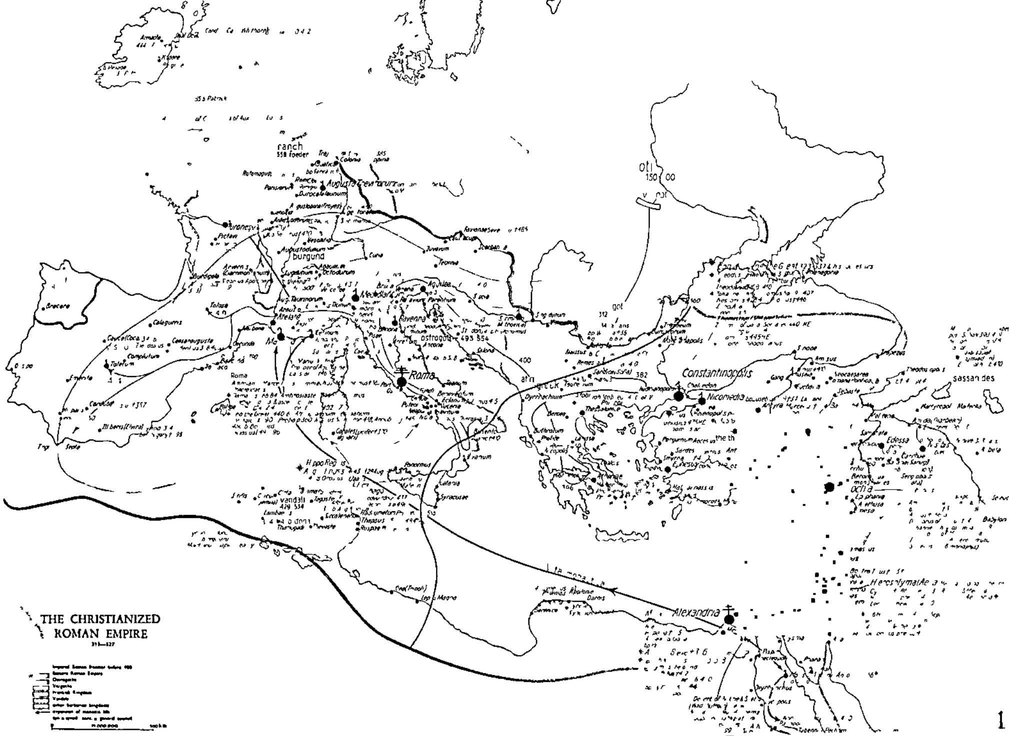
By an almost incredible change of events, paganism was officially, and not without violence proscribed by Theodosius The temples were closed, or, as in the East, razed to the ground, and on the Lord's Day and on the feasts of the martyrs the inhabitants of the ancient Hellenic cities thronged to the spacious basilicas There they listened to the reading of the Scriptures, chanted the psalms in chorus and, if they were baptized, received the Eucharist at a small altar – while the old pagans stayed at home to ponder over their classics. From that time onward, it can be said, the Christians took over the responsibility for ancient civilization and for the Empire

The Empire could not be saved, though by a miracle it remained more or less intact in the East, despite the constant menace on two fronts. As for ancient civilization, many of the Christians were supremely unconcerned about its fate The ascetics, who had fled the hectic life of the towns for the silence of the desert to meditate on future rather than present modes of existence, were but little concerned with the decline of the social order except as an object lesson On the other hand, the leading spirits within the Christian Church did what they could to save what they thought was worth saving and what was not incompatible with their faith They strove to unite the fundamental principles and techniques of ancient civilization with the revelation of faith and of the Bible The men who accomplished this immeasurable and decisive work were the 'Fathers of the Church', or, as we call them simply, 'the Fathers' The Church has recognized their work as an authentic source of her tradition, second only to the irrevocable decisions of the General Councils

The first demand of the new faith, a demand which distinguishes her from earlier or contemporary religious communities, was the stress laid on inward conversion, on the *epistrophe* or *conversio*. The Christian who only observed the public rites was a disgrace to his religion A state, as such, can never be 'converted' in this sense, even though Christian principles influence its legislation, and even though the emperor, having founded countless sanctuaries and built them with public money, had himself baptized on his deathbed, as Constantine had done in all good faith Though in the eyes of the pious, the 'Christianized Empire' was a gift from Heaven and a triumph of Christ, it was in fact but a temporal affair It was never a substitute for the Church, the only Christian society. In the West, at least, the Church was never identified with the Christian state, for there was never a western theocrac as there was on the shores of the Bosphorus, where patriarch and emperor, the one always striving to dominate the other, were enthroned side by side in the basilica of Sancta Sophia. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, however, the Church was constantly embroiled, willy-nilly, in the affairs of the Empire In the eyes of the last pagans, she formed a sort of mystical state-within-the-state, with her powerful bishops in all the cities and her frequently impetuous ascetics crowding the Egyptian patriarchate. On the other hand, the Christian Roman Empire came to the aid of the Church whenever some ecclesiastical affair – either a danger to faith like the Arian and Christological heresies, or the half-religious, half-social troubles of Donatism in Africa – not only endangered the social order, but sometimes, like Monophysitism in Egypt and Syria, threatened the very unity of the Empire. The relations between Church and State after Constantine were always in constant tension In a certain sense it is a situation implicit in the existence of the Church as 'the City of God in exile upon Earth'.

An examination of the map of the Christian Roman Empire (map 11, cf maps 13–14), reveals four significant facts

Firstly, the safe world of the *pax romana* is no more, its powerful framework has crumbled, having served for the propagation of the Gospel After 400 A D. the barbarians had the West completely under their heel; they became Arians, not Catholics, so that in the contemporary mind Christianity was involuntarily associated with 'romanness'. It followed, therefore, that virtually all creative activity came to fruition within the Christian Church. The liturgy, with its feasts and hymns (in the West those of St. Ambrose); the roman style of the prayers, the roman ecclesiastical organization of the See of Peter; the great Scriptural commentaries; hagiography, and the systematization of Christian dogma and morality, the ascetic life which comes to the West from Egypt via Hippo, Lerins Marseilles and Arles, and links up with the Celtic tradition in Ireland, the basilicas with their decorations, and the appearance of symbolic, didactic, and expressionist art, finally, the Christian Platonism of the great Cappadocians, of Ambrose (who assimulated the *Enneads* of Plotinus into his homilies), and of Augustine, the spiritual father of the Middle Ages –



THE CHRISTIANIZED ROMAN EMPIRE
Brecara
Toletum
Emerita
Corduba
Caesaraugusta
Complutum
Burdigala
Pictavi
Tolosa
Arelate
Augustodunum
burgund
Augusta Treverorum
Colonia
Durocatalaunum
Mediolanum
Aquileia
Ravenna
ostrogoth
Roma
Beneventum
Syracusae
Panormus
Hippo Regius
vandal
Thapsus
Carthago
Thessalonice
Dyrrhachium
Constantinopolis
Nicomedia
Chalcedon
Sardes
Smyrna
Ephesus
Edessa
Nisibis
Samosata
Sebaste
Trapezus
sassanides
Alexandria
Dairis
Tabennisi

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PALAEOCHRISTIAN MONUMENTS
313-527

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SANCTUARIES AND MARTYRS
of the Primitive Church
313 527

1 20 000 000

0 500 km

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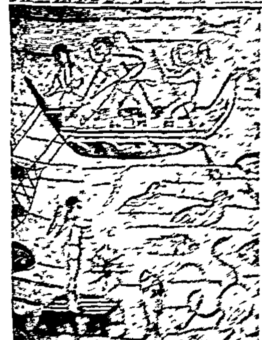


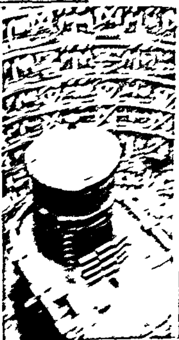








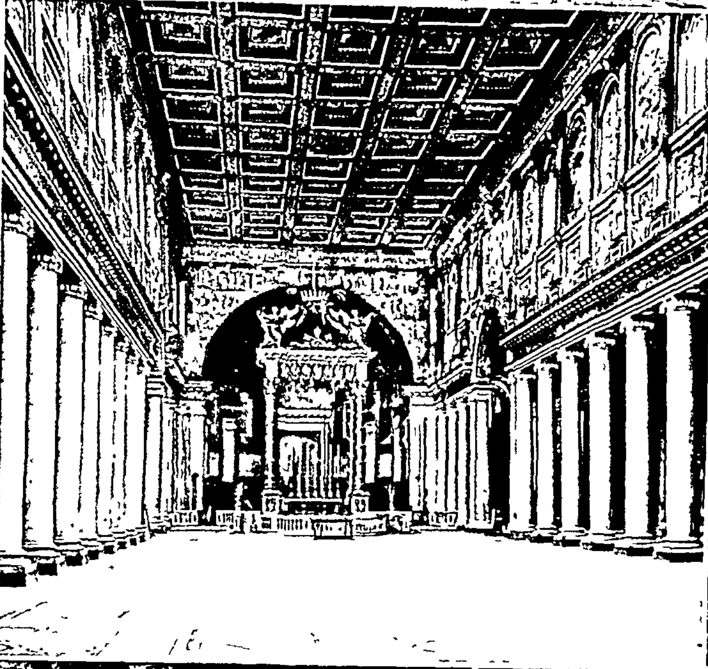






125/ Detail from a [illegible]
phagus, Arles [illegible]
and en [illegible]
no 19[illegible] 130 [illegible]
Sepulchre, [illegible]
350, Rome.









133/ Ruins of the basilica at Tebessa (N.Africa). IVth and VIth cents **134/** St. Paul-without-the-Walls, the basilica of Theodosius. Late IVth cent. After the disastrous fire of 1823. **135/** Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore. The first Roman church dedicated to the Virgin; built by Sixtus III ca. 432. **136/** Rome, Santa Sabina, built under Celestine I, 422-430. *Well preserved, though much restored and lacking its original interior decoration.* **137/** Rome, colonnade in Santa Sabina; *the monumental inscription shown in nos. 140-142 is above the door at the back.* **138/** Rome, Santa Sabina, wooden panel of main door, 431; *the Lord in His Glory surrounded by the Four Living Things, below, Sts. Peter and Paul crowning the Church with the monogram of Christ.* **139/** Vienne, Saint-Pierre, Vth cent. basilica, now a museum.

[cf. map 12]

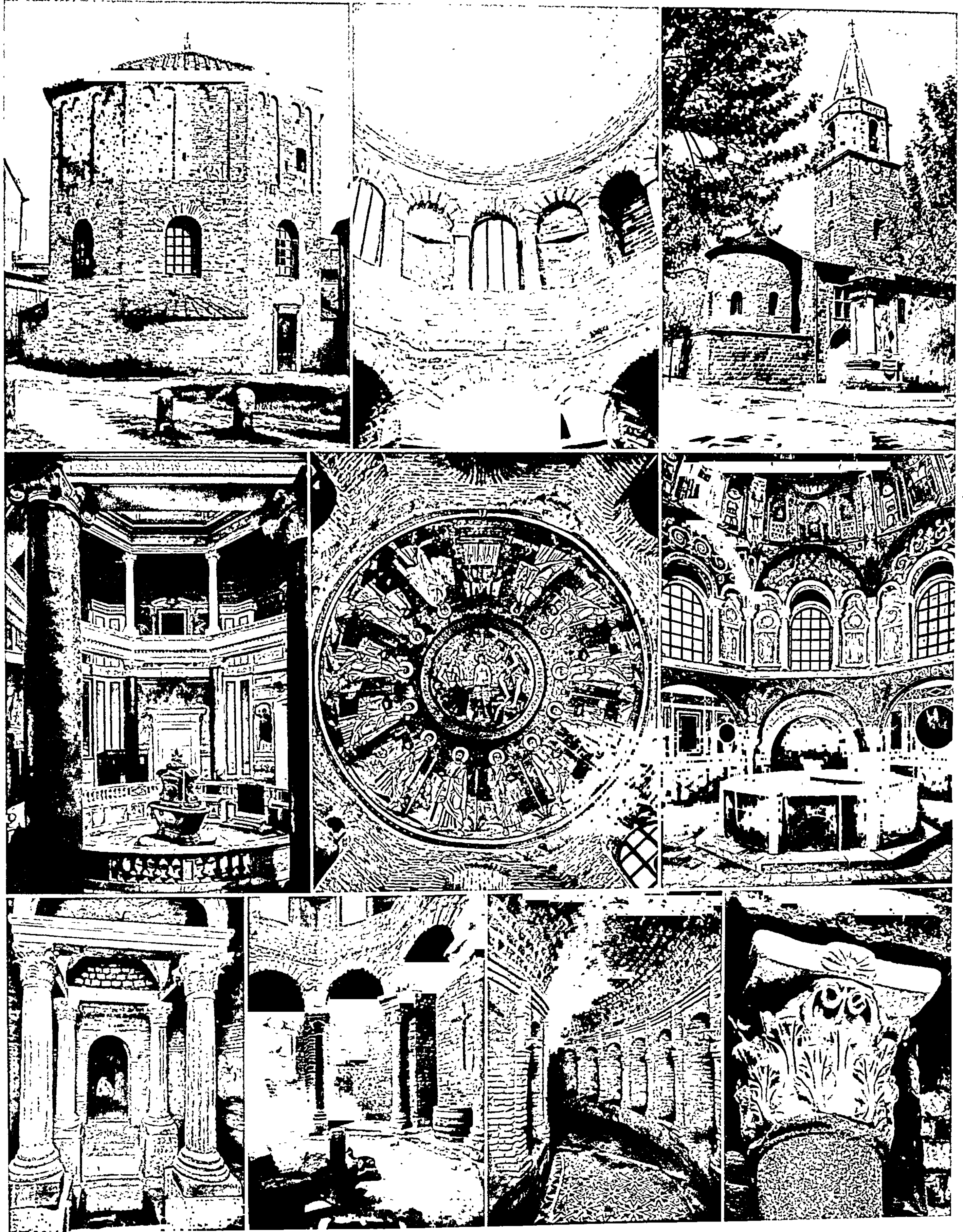


140 141 142

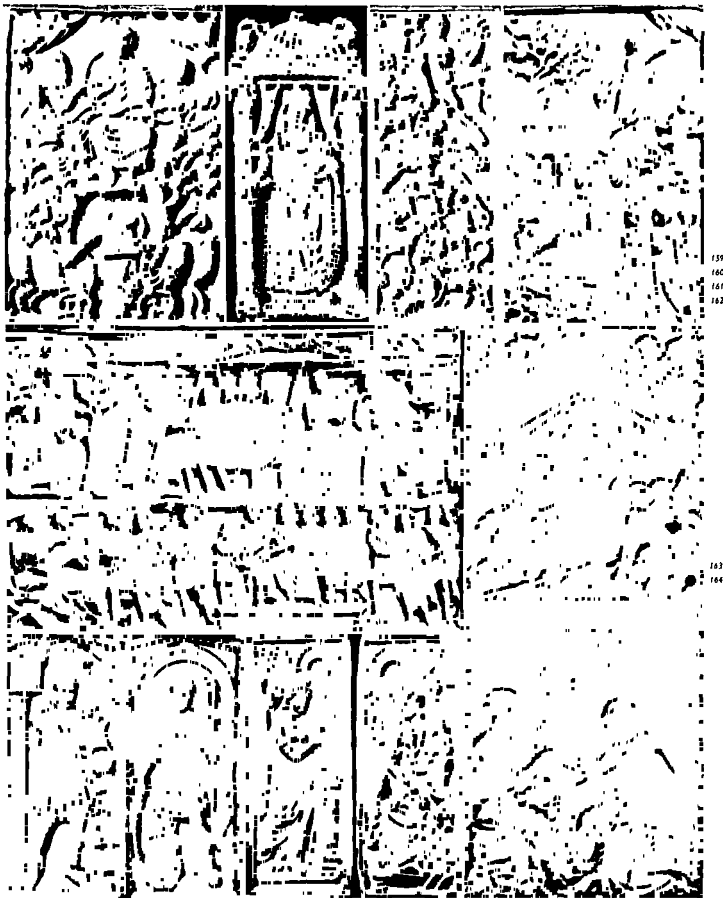
143 144 145

146 147 148

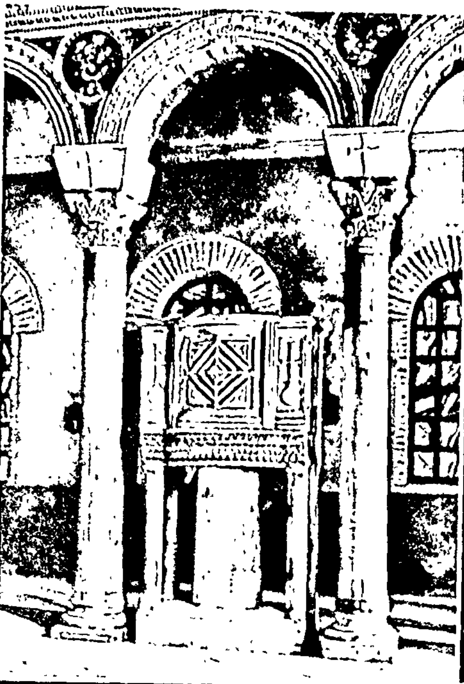
140, 142/ The two ends of the monumental inscription over the door of Sta Sabina, Rome L, the Church of the Circumcision, r, the Church of the Gentiles Mosaic, 422-430 141/ Side view of a sarcophagus with the sacrifice of Isaac and the Apostles in the Heavenly Jerusalem St Ambrose Milan 143/ Moses after crossing the Red Sea, striking it with his staff Mosaic in the nave of Sta Maria Maggiore After 431 144/ Ivory diptych with St Icho (or Eucher us?) and his wife and son Cathedral at Monza 145/ Mary presents Jesus in the Temple Mosaic from the triumphal arch of Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome, after 431 146/ Gilt glass a Christian family group Brescia, Museo Civico 147/ Panel from the door of Sta Sabina, Rome One of the earliest representations of the Crucifixion 431 148/ The Annunciation, on silk Rome, the Vatican [cf map 12]

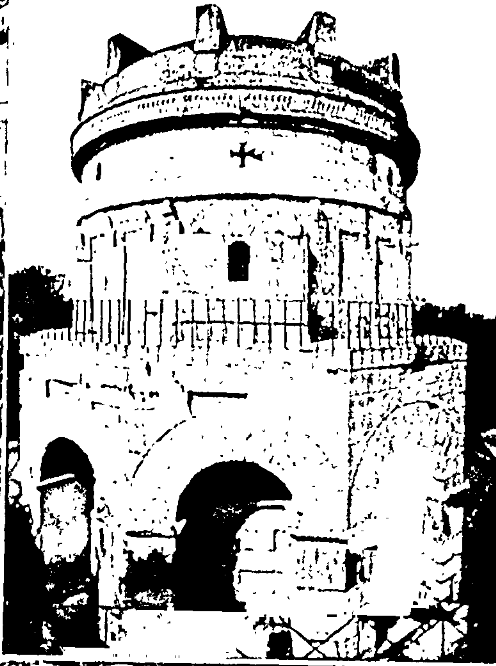


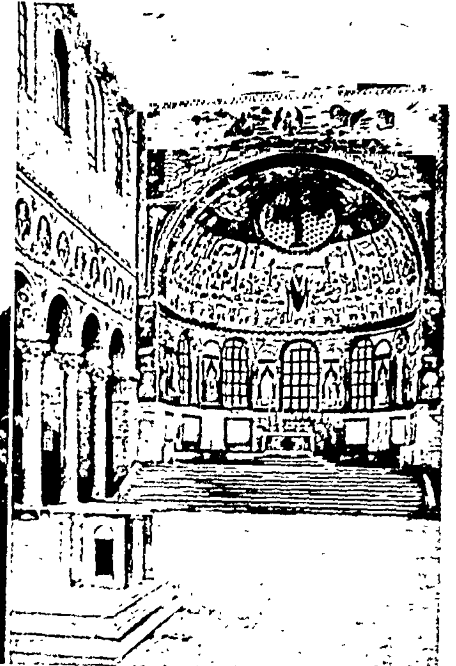
149/ Baptistery of the Orthodox, Ravenna, Vth cent. (the surrounding ground has been raised). **150-151/** Baptistery at Fréjus in front of the Cathedral; cupola and exterior. Vth cent. **152/** Baptistery of the Lateran, rebuilt under Sixtus III after 430. **153/** Mosaic in the cupola of the baptistery of the Arians at Ravenna, early VIth cent. Baptism of Christ and the apostles. **154/** Baptistery of the Orthodox at Ravenna (cf. no. 149). Decoration mainly intact, though floor raised and font mediaeval. **155/** Canopy over the font in the baptistery at Djemila, the ancient Cuicul (N. Africa), Vth cent. **156/** Baptistery at Fréjus (cf. nos. 150-151). **157/** Gallery with robing rooms in the baptistery at Djemila (cf. no. 155). **158/** Capital in the baptistery at Fréjus (cf. no. 156). *An example of the transformation of the classic Corinthian capital. — Only no. 155 gives an exact idea of the original arrangement of the font.* [cf. map 12]



The ivories of the IVth and Vth cents are mostly well preserved and provided a most valuable source for pagan and Christian culture in the early centuries of the Church 159 Christ and the twelve apostles Dijon 160/ Byzantine Empress Florence, Museo Nazionale 161/ Adam in Paradise Florence, Museo Nazionale 162/ Resurrection and Ascension Munich, Bayer Nationalmuseum 163 The Agony in the Garden the Arrest, the Denial of Peter and Christ before Pilate *One of the earliest representations of the entire Passion* Lid of ivory reliquary Brescia, Museo Civico 370 164 Consular diptych of Probus Rome 406 Aosta Cathedral 165/ Diptych of the Muse and the Poet, Rome ca. 500 Monza Cathedral 166 The women at the Tomb and the sleeping sentries Milan Castello Sforzesco IVth cent. *The tomb is depicted as a rich mausoleum of the second half of the IVth cent.* [cf map 12]

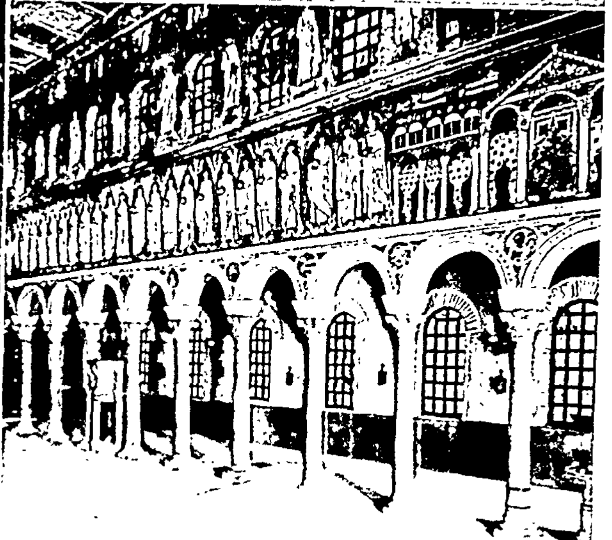




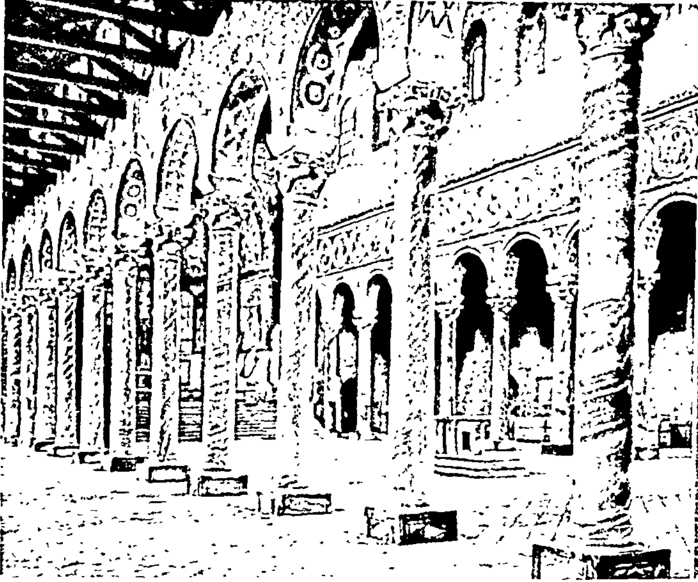


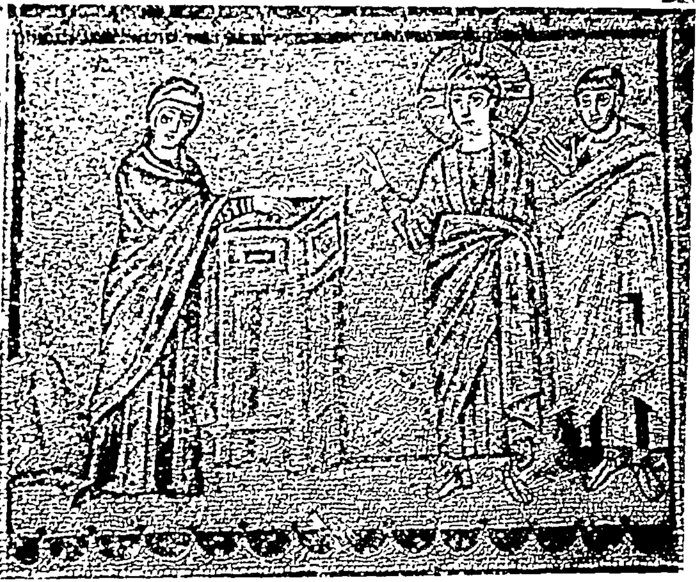
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Ravenna in the time of Galla Placidia and Theodoric. **167/** Columns of the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the palatine church of Theodoric. **168/** Tomb of Theodoric outside the town; with heavy monolithic cupola. **169/** S. Apollinare in Classe, in a churchyard near Classe; apse with VIth cent. mosaics. **170/** Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, mosaic tympanum depicting the Good Shepherd. **171/** Nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo with the celebrated mosaics. Above, near the roof, a Life of Jesus (for detail cf. no. 173); underneath the Prophets and Evangelists. Below right, the palace of Ravenna. *The procession of martyrs was added later under Justinian.* **172/** S. Apollinare in Classe, side view of the nave. **173/** The Widow's Mite. Mosaic from S. Apollinare Nuovo.

[cf. map 12]

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Constantinople today is but a shadow of the former Byzantine city. The church of Saint Sophia is surrounded by XVIth and XVIIth century mosques which were modelled on its style. Indeed the mosques themselves give a better impression of the original effect than their heavily restored model. 174 The mosque of Soliman, by Sinan, 1557. 175/ The Golden Horn, with the mosque of the Sultan Achmed, 1610. 176/ Detail of the interior of Saint Sophia (the furnishings are Turkish). 177/ The royal door in the narthex of Saint Sophia, with IXth cent. mosaic. 178/ Detail of the interior of Saint Sophia. 179/ Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, now a mosque (the nave is damaged). 180 The Hippodrome with Saint Sophia in the background. 181/ R., Saint Sophia; l., Saint Irene. VIth cent.

[cf. map 15]





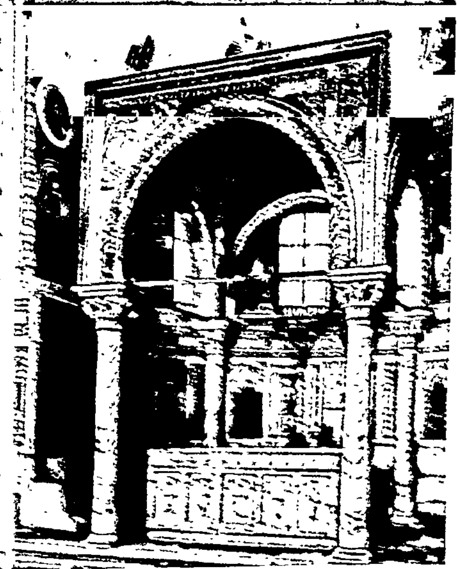












Ravenna in the time of Justinian. 182/ San Vitale, from the east (the tower is modern). 183/ San Vitale, the bema (sanctuary) and apse; with perfectly preserved VIth cent. mosaics. 184/ San Vitale, view from the gallery. 185/ The Emperor Justinian, detail from votive mosaic in the apse (cf. no. 183, left); *one of the best portraits in this period.* 186/ San Vitale, side view of the sanctuary. 187/ San Vitale, capital. *One of the most interesting moments in VIth cent. architecture is the decisive break with the monotonous Corinthian capital and the experiment with new forms. Note the 'impost' above the abacus, as a transition to the arch.* 188/ The Miracle of the Loaves, ivory from the bishop's chair of Maximianus. Archdiocese of Ravenna. 189/ Decoration of the apse in the basilica of Eufrasius at Parenzo (the canopy over the altar is XIIIth cent.). [cf. map 15]



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Monuments from all parts of the Empire 190/ Bethlehem Justinian's Church of the Nativity *on 'cloverleaf' pattern* 191/ Rome St Lawrence without the Walls Though reconstructed the basilica retains its VIth cent mosaics (*note the galleries*) 192/ Coptic monastery in Wadi Natrûn in the Nitrian Desert, Egypt. 193-194/ Two details from the votive mosaic of Justinian in San Vitale at Ravenna (cf no 185) L an officer and a senior official r a eunuch Archbishop Maximianus and his archdeacon 195/ Detail from a mosaic in Cyprus the Infant Logos on His Mother's knee 196/ The Crucifixion and the Appearances in the Garden miniature from the evangelarium of Rabula, from Zagba in Mesopotamia 586 197/ The healing of the man born blind Miniature from the earliest illuminated gospel manuscript VIth cent. Rossano cathedral Calabria. [cf map 15]

such is the treasury which the Middle Ages and we ourselves today, never cease to plunder

Secondly, whoever compares the writings, art, and above all the personalities of the first Christian centuries with those of pre-Christian antiquity, is always struck by the presence of a new psychic factor – the Biblical factor It is as if the human personality has received a new inner dimension and it is immediately recognizable in a new imaginative idiom drawn from the Bible It expresses itself in new emotions, new lines of approach, and a wholly new outlook on men and things The old *eros* has given way to *agape*, the superiority complex of the élite has given way to the feeling of human comradeship, Man is revealed in the light of the Incarnation, and the gods have made way for the majesty of God Revelation altered human sensibility from top to bottom, and if anyone doubts this, let him read the Confessions of St Augustine by the side of Plato's Dialogues

The third striking fact is that profane culture in this period is predominantly literary, and in the West at least cuts a decidedly poor figure beside that of the Christian Church Education and schools, however, remain outside the orbit of the Christian revival

The fourth and last point is that there is no question of a systematic propagation of the faith outside the frontiers of the Empire, and of the barbarians who came within the old imperial territory, the Franks were to be the very first to become Catholics at the beginning of the following period

The cultural monuments which have come down to us from this highly creative period are very unevenly distributed The enormous library of the Fathers has been for the most part preserved Apart from that very little
3 of material fabric survives A certain amount of minor art, many cemeteries, but mostly completely rifled (most of the Roman cemeteries known to us date
3 from this period, cf map 10), and finally a number of basilicas, for the most part restored from their very foundations and hardly recognizable in their present state The latter are to be found all over the Empire, but especially in Syria and North Africa But the smallest fragments are precious for us because in them generally lie the prototypes of the imagery of the mediaeval and post-mediaeval world The early Christian monuments do not point to a violent break with the traditions of antiquity, still less to a conscious craving for originality They testify rather to a natural shift of attention in subject matter and to a spiritual renewal working outwards from within The external form in which the new imagery appears belongs wholly to the Ancient World It is true that certain genres have died out or have been consciously rejected (as for instance such motifs as the colonnaded temple, and the stone images), and the whole mythological and erotic genre disappeared almost at once But neither in architecture nor in the plastic arts do we find new techniques or a consciously new style – there has been selection, but not innovation There are, doubtless, new opportunities for certain techniques, notably the special demand for monumental mosaics to decorate the great mural surfaces and the apsidal domes Whatever was available – genres, techniques, and clichés – was carefully selected and pressed into the service of the new demand There was the spaciousness of the church walls to be filled, the mysteries of the Redemption to be depicted, and the characters from the Bible and the martyrs the new heroes, to be commemorated The somewhat pompous figurative style, adopted to inspire respect and to elevate the thoughts, existed in the imperial court before it came within the Christian basilicas That it was so much more impressive in the latter was due to the more elevated context from now onwards in Christian art, form is always subject to the requirements of content Christian art is primarily referential and symbolic, and the force and dignity which the Christians of these golden centuries gave to the interior decoration of their spacious religious edifices (basilicas, baptisteries, mausoleums, and commemorative churches) have rarely been equalled and never surpassed It was the task of the following century to create a perfectly homogeneous Christian style in which the tension between the old form and the new content, usually gentle and inspiring but nonetheless present, has definitely disappeared This was the work of Justinian at the beginning of the VIth century, in the preeminently Christian atmosphere of Constantinople

THE CHRISTIAN EAST

After the Christianization of the Empire, the Ancient World became more and more clearly split into two parts, East and West It was a question not only of political events and of language (for the language boundaries see maps 11, 15 and 17), but also of the differences in the arts, rites, way of living and, in a word, of the whole culture While in the West the ancient civilization disappeared entirely, except for a few admired but neglected monuments and a partial survival of the school curriculum, in the East, on the contrary, it continued to develop for the next thousand years till 1453 That is the essential difference between Byzantine Christianity, which successfully developed along traditional lines for several centuries, and Mediaeval Christianity which, though young and unsure of itself, had a greater future ahead of it On the one hand continuity, on the other a new departure Mediaeval culture is fresh and youthful, the Byzantine is over-mature, old fashioned, and on its dignity Nevertheless, since it influenced and imposed itself upon the West for six or seven centuries, it must be reckoned with in this survey

Byzantine civilization flourished for a thousand years in the middle of a society that grouped itself round the glorious cultural centre of Constantinople, 1
the 'New Rome' It was a society that considered itself the heir to the three 1
best things in the world Hellenic civilization, the Christian Roman Empire, and Greek Orthodoxy

The Byzantines considered themselves first and foremost as Hellenes, that is, as the direct heirs of Athens and Alexandria, custodians and exegetes of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonists They were always transcribing and editing the literary heritage of antiquity, they were the connoisseurs of the Greek past The artistic heritage of Hellas that survived into the IVth and Vth centuries was but the pale reflection of that Greek humanism which we find everywhere in late antiquity The Byzantine masters elaborated upon the modes of this powerful but cosmopolitan period in their own, typically Oriental- 1
Greek way They introduced the cupola into the basilica, and they turned 5
their interiors into grottoes of variegated marble and mosaic As for the 5
expressive outline of the old Christian statues, they stylized it into an intricate formula of balanced lines derived from the style of the ancient Greek bas-reliefs

The Byzantines considered themselves Romans (or 'Rhomaeans', as they pronounced it), that is, Romans of the Empire as opposed to the Barbarians, those Sarmatians, Huns, Slavs, Persians, Arabs, Syrians and Copts, who had neither the same faith nor the same feeling for the Empire, and who seemed to be betraying and threatening both In Byzantium, it must not be forgotten, belief and Empire, Church and Court, were two inseparable institutions 1
Devotion due to the Emperor, the self-ruler *(Autokrator)*, had its place at the 1
centre of the devotion due to God, the ruler of All *(Pantokrator)* Constantinople
was the city where the Divine Wisdom had its temple, the Church of Sancta 1
Sophia, it was too the personal jewel and possession of the Theotokos, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God (In this connection we may remark that it is to Constantinople that we owe not only the types of Christ, but also the three classic types of image of the Mother of God enthroned, the Nikopoia, standing, the Hodigitria, and praying, the Blachernïotissa) Above all, the Byzantines felt themselves 'orthodox', holders of the one true faith as handed down by the apostles and repeatedly defined against the heretics in the course of the first oecumenical councils, which were always held within their Empire

As for their relationship with the West, it should be realized that the centre of gravity of the Christian world had from the outset its origin in the East Did not everything come from the East? the faith itself, the first theology, the
'angelic' life of the monks, the devotion to the Cross and to the Mother of God? 58
Were not the Byzantines the direct heirs of Paul and John, whose letters 57
were still heard in their original language by the same congregations to which they were originally addressed? Did not the majority of the bishoprics, and especially the most ancient, lie in the East? And where did the Christianization of the world begin (map 9)? In the East, the land of the Holy Places, of the Desert Fathers of the Apologists of the Councils, of the majestic liturgies, and of the decisive victories of orthodoxy over the gnostic and christological heresies To be sure, they had certainly accepted, first in their hearts and then with their lips, the prerogatives of Rome, the first apostolic see, and home of the innumerable martyrs whose graves lay like a wreath about her walls (map 10) But Rome had been abandoned by the Emperor and thrice plundered by the Barbarians Always threatened, and totally impoverished, she was soon to become but a far off city, great only by her monuments and her memories, and by the presence of the successors of St Peter In the VIth century she came under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine exarch of Ravenna, but eventually the Holy See, the independent summit of the Church, escaped completely from the Greek *basileus*, and by what in Greek eyes seemed an act of treacherous desertion, turned herself towards the West, and even towards the ruler of the 'barbarian' Franks

What then remained of the old Latin culture in the Byzantium of the VIIth century? They did not even know of Augustine, and only the names of Leo the Great and Gregory the Great (maps 11 and 14) occur in the Greek calendar

Byzantine civilization has been rejected out of hand for centuries, and no one used to dream of studying it Now that it is better known today, however, it can be despised or admired, but it can no longer be neglected It is impossible to despise a society whose artistry one admires, and the hymns of Romanos, the mosaics, the icons, and the fine, delicately constructed churches amaze anyone who has eyes and ears The Byzantines recognized strange conventions, but their Empire lasted for a thousand years, and their works of art testify to an incomparably high way of life, at least among the élite, and still more, to that most exceptional cultural asset, a dignified piety

celtic
West Gothic kingdom
Roma
Latin
Greek
heru
slavs
lazes
Eastern Roman Empire
ghassanids

THE SIXTH CENTURY
Early Byzantine 527-630

14

early byzantine

THE SIXTH CENTURY
monuments
527-630

15

THE WORLD OF ISLAM

622 1100

Frankish Empire

Cordova

Maghreb

Qairawan

Eastern Roman Empire

Damascus

Fustat

Baghdad

Jathrib

Mecca

Bokhara

The continuation of Greece was in a certain sense an illusion When Byzantium began Hellas had already disappeared several centuries ago It was scarcely more than an Acropolis bathed in memories and a number of masterpieces which had been carefully cherished through the ages The Parthenon had become a basilica to the Virgin Mother of God The savants and the poets used an artificial literary language a sort of neo Attic But the Byzantines did not only preserve their literary texts for us In the construction of their vaults and in the nobility of their statuary they preserved much of the ancient Greek refinement and of the old humanism What marked them off from the Ancients is perhaps that which marks off all cultures of later antiquity from that of ancient Greece It can be seen most clearly in the arts The Ancients built static temples with carefully constructed exteriors within the sober limitations of pillars and capitals In their representation of the human figure they strove for clarity of form and they allowed the spirit to shine only through the beautiful healthy slightly draped or naked body They thought in terms of shapes proportions and the clarity of perfection The cosmopolites of 300–400 A D who included the early Christian artists thought in terms of interiors polychromes architectural dynamics portraits and above all symbolism In place of tangible clarity they strove to convey a sense of inner reality either by the aid of an ambiguous symbolism which concealed as much as it illuminated or by intensity of expression Almost always they concerned themselves with spiritual situations or states of the soul and their themes were invariably borrowed from the Bible and the Court The epoch of the brilliant human figure is at an end a new epoch has begun that of Christian expressionism and of the supremacy of content

Shortly after 500 A D and contemporaneously with the somewhat awkward and unbalanced work of the cosmopolitan phase there appeared at Con
182 stantinople and elsewhere (the best specimens are at Ravenna) the first works
189 of a completely new and coherent style which we know as Early Byzantine
187 The liturgy of Constantinople the hieratic style of the court the costume the vaulting the ornamentation of the capitals the polychrome decoration of the interiors and the style of draughtsmanship all combine to form a unity Throughout the Empire we find the same style the same motifs and the same themes

Four centuries later after the crisis of the Iconoclast controversy these
573 motifs received their final and definitive form they became the classical clichés of the so-called deutero-Byzantine Renaissance clichés which have remained unchanged to this day among the Orthodox Christians

THE SIXTH CENTURY

On the maps of the VIth and the beginning of the VIIth century (maps 14 15) the shattered West cuts a poor figure beside the Byzantine Empire which under Justinian seemed for a moment to be on the way towards restoring the old Imperial unity In a series of rapid military campaigns and naval expeditions graphically described by the historian Procopius the Byzantines conquered Italy where they overthrew the empire of the Ostrogoths and North Africa where they crushed the kingdom of the Arian Vandals They even succeeded in occupying Baetica the modern Andalusia which they wrested from the Visigoths Everywhere they went they restored Roman administration as well as orthodox Christianity and most notably in Africa the Catholics were able to breathe freely again after the nightmare of Vandal domination

A century later as a result of the revolt of the hinterlands and the Arab invasion there remained but the mutilated trunk of this impressive empire But the empire of Justinian had left an indestructible heritage behind it In the first place there was the administrative organization of the Empire There was also the codification of Roman Law the Corpus Juris (Latin was still always the official language) Then there was the first classic Byzantine poetry primarily religious as for learning the Emperor closed the last school of rhetoric at Athens in 529 and the professors emigrated to the court of the Mazdean Sassanides in Persia A glance at the list of scholars assigned to the Imperial cultural centres on map 14 should be sufficient to convince us that Byzantine erudition and historiography were already firmly established at this period But theology no longer offers any names comparable with the Early Fathers and the first great thinker of Greek Christianity Maximus the
182 Confessor belongs to about 600 A D The monuments of this period (shown on map 15) have always compelled the admiration of every visitor to the Near
84 East The Sancta Sophia of Constantinople the Great Church of Christ was then the most beautiful building in the world By its extremely intellectual and subtle technique Sancta Sophia is a worthy conclusion to the architecture of the ancient world Its interior conveys the impression of immateriality and infinity and its dominating cupola admirably illustrates the Helleno-Christian conception of the world in which all reality looks inwards to the supreme *kentron* the invisible and perfect majesty of God Sancta Sophia remained unique and the classical basilica with cupola developed from a simpler con 190
ception However it is astonishing how much survives from this period in all parts of the Empire in the way of bridges fortifications walls basilicas
cisterns (especially in the capital) country houses mosaics and minor art 182
To be able to see an architectural structure preserved as a unity such as 187
San Vitale at Ravenna or the decoration of the apse in the basilica of Parenzo 189
in Istria is to feel at once the reality of a homogeneous and original way of life which was to preserve its autonomy for centuries

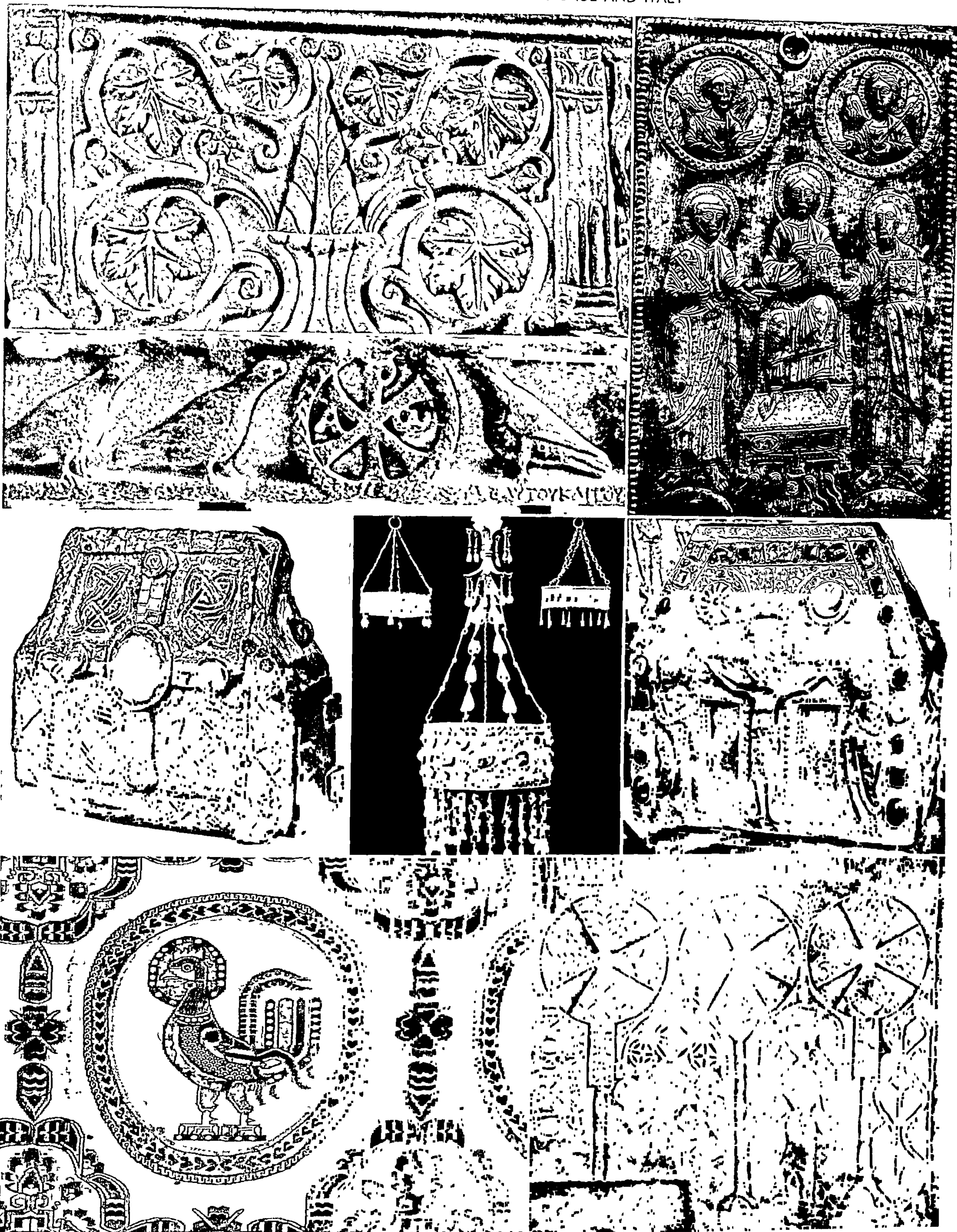
What is also remarkable in the VIth century is the intellectual activity of the outlying provinces as for example Eastern Syria where the non orthodox national élite who detested the imperialist and christian Byzantines (the appellation Melkites means imperial) adhered to monophysism and Nestorianism Such profane Greek authors as Aristotle and Galen were translated into Syrian and used in the schools of Nisibis and Resaina This intellectual activity was continued by the first Arabian translators in the following period (see map 16) and forms a link in the chain which joins Hellenism and Scholasticism and which runs from Bagdad to Cordova It was also this Syrian élite which brought Christendom albeit in the form of Nestorianism far beyond the old imperial boundaries Their faith spread throughout Sassanidean Persia over the whole of Turkestan and as appears from such monuments as the inscription of Singanfu into China itself (see map 34) At this period too
Georgia and Armenia established their national cultures in their first clearly 192
defined form and Egypt still preserves in a few monasteries the remnants of sculpture and literary fragments which testify to the Coptic Monophysite Christianity which flourished there

The West by contrast presents a picture of chaos and confusion as a glance at the map will show In the extreme west facing the Atlantic lies an entirely strange new cultural centre at present unknown but of the utmost importance for the future This is the region of the venerable but self-opinion
ated Irish Celtic monastic culture which differed in many usages from the rest 210
of Christianity Though coming originally from Ireland in the VIth century its centre was the island of Iona The Scots spread over the coasts of the Irish Sea into Scotland Wales Brittany (Armorica) and later over the whole of the western Continent At the dawn of the VIIth century the evangelization of the eastern parts of the Frankish kingdom begins from Luxeuil founded in 610 by St Columban The foundation of St Gall soon to become a great cultural centre follows in 612 to be followed in its turn by Bobbio in Lombardy In Italy itself the cradle of the Ancient World there still lived at the beginning of the century the last representatives of the dying Latinity – the philosopher Boethius condemned to death by Theodoric and the rhetorician Cassiodorus who died at Vivarium in Calabria a foundation which can be seen as the last library of Latin antiquity and the first mediaeval scriptorium Both
Boethius and Cassiodorus can be honoured as the founders of the Middle 191
Ages

Towards the end of the century in an unhappy Rome often beleaguered and finally ruled by the exarch from Ravenna lived yet another man who was to be a teacher of the coming centuries – Gregory the Great the most attractive and most noble figure of the period Not only as head of the Universal Church but also as *de facto* governor of the Eternal City Gregory represented the highest moral authority of the West It was he who took St Augustine from the monastery on the Caelian Hill (which he had founded in his ancestral palace) and sent him to the Anglo-Saxons Besides being the spiritual father of the English Church St Gregory also wrote the life of his own spiritual father a certain young nobleman from the little Umbrian town of Nursia who about 500 A D abandoned the city life of the disintegrating world of his time and after a long period of experiment wrote a rule for monastic communities in which Romans and Barbarians could live together within the framework of an agricultural unit not however with any cultural objective but as in a school for the service of God This man virtually unknown in his own lifetime died in 574 A D on Monte Cassino a monastery between Naples and Rome – his name was Benedict Through the wisdom and piety which he handed down in his little Rule he deserves even more than Gregory the Great or Boethius the philosopher the title of Father of the West

THE WORLD OF ISLAM

Suddenly in the second quarter of the VIIth century there arose in the Arabian desert a spiritual hurricane which was to overturn and sweep away everything in the hinterland of the Justinian Empire that was not of firm foundation Within a few generations the apostles of total submission – the creed of Islam as preached at Medina by Mahomet the last and the seal of the prophets greater than Ibrahim and Isa – were masters of Damascus Antioch Alexandria and Ctesiphon The Holy Places of Jerusalem devastated by the Persians in 614 and only recently somewhat restored by the patriarch Modestus after the liberation by the Emperor Heraclius and the Exaltation of the True



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216/ Centrepiece of VIIth cent. sarcophagus. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. 217/ (below) Front of altar table, late Vth cent. Marseilles, Musée Borély. 218/ *Lid of reliquary*, late VIIth cent. The Vatican, Museo Cristiano. 219/ Reliquary of St.-Bonnet-Avalouze (Corrèze), VIIth cent. *A specimen of Merovingian art.* 220/ Votive crowns of King Recceswinth, ca. 670, found at Guarrazar near Toledo. Visigothic. Paris, Musée de Cluny. 221/ Reliquary of Peppin I of Aquitaine, early IXth cent. Conques, treasure of Ste. Foy. *Specimen of Carolingian art* (*cf. no.* 219). 222/ Silk material *from* the East, with the Persian *motif* of the hen. The Vatican, Museo Cristiano. *Valuable relics were preserved in this sort of material.* 223/ Ferentillo, S. Pietro. Altar decoration of 'Hildericus Dagileopa' with barbarian reliefs. VIIIth cent. [cf. map 17]



224/ Crypt of the Abbey of Jouarre VIIth cent. **225/** The Great Mosque of Cordova begun late VIIIth cent. and enlarged in IXth and Xth cents *The columns have been taken from V sigoth c bas licas* **226/** Spoleto San Salvatore Probably VIIIth cent. though possibly Vth cent. **227/** Cordova, Great Mosque Arches of IXth cent. In front of 2nd mihrab view through to 3rd m hrab of Xth cent **228/** Rome S G orgio in Velabro, VIIIth cent. **229** D ptych from Rambona near Ancona. Crucif xion with Roman she-wolf and Romulus and Remus and the Mother of God enthroned among the cherubim Probably late IXth cent. **230** Pola de Lena (near Ov edo Asturia) Sta. Cr st na. Small IXth cent. mountain church **231/** The Apocalypse of Trier Stadtb bl othek cod 31 The fall of the angels and the f ght w th the dragon *Pre-Carol ng an copy of an early Chr stian des gn* [cf map 17]

Cross', fell into the hands of the Mahometans The first important monument
3 of the new faith, the Dome of the Rock, rose in the Holy City on the empty site of the ancient Jewish Temple The Dome took the form of a proto-Byzantine commemorative rotunda, built indeed by a Christian, without images, altar or priest, it was simply a space for prayer with a Qibla, or niche, indicating the direction of Mecca That sanctuary was a symbol of the new situation The sons of Agar – whom the Crusaders were later to call the Agarenes – had inherited the very ground of the Temple of God in succession to the children of Sara and the disciples of Christ As for the culture of the land which the newcomers had occupied, they took it over and adapted it to their own requirements

In these few years Christianity had lost its ancient centres of development and expansion Syria, Mesopotamia, a part of Asia Minor, Armenia and Georgia, and it was soon to lose Cyrenaica and North Africa as well Less than a hundred years later the Khalifate occupied a larger area than the Roman Empire under Trajan, around 750 it stretched from the coasts of Morocco and Saragossa to beyond the Indus, and from Aden to beyond the Caucasus and Transoxania Map 16 depicts both the development and the apogee of the Islamic world, and covers the period from 612, when Mahomet left his native town for Medina to around 1200, when the glory of the Arab world began to wane and when the period of the Crusades began The events which it covers run parallel with maps 17–20 which depict the corresponding events of Western civilization

What is immediately striking is the pitiful and defensive attitude of Christendom, especially in the West The Eastern Roman Empire held its essential territories, albeit with difficulty and with a constantly uncertain eastern frontier But the Western Empire had contracted into a sort of island fortress, under fire from all sides First Spain and Sicily were lost to Islam, then southern Italy, indeed the whole of Italy, culturally speaking, was absorbed into the Eastern Roman Empire Then, after a momentary triumph, the British Isles and the coasts of the Carolingian Empire were lost to the Vikings Finally, the eastern territories were yielded up to the Hungarians and Slavs

In the overall picture of general cultural history the culture of the Islamic territories can be seen as the final result of a sort of general *revanche* by the non-Hellenic East The first great centres of Islam lie on the eastern frontiers
5 of the ancient Hellenistic world – Damascus, Fustat (later to become Cairo), Samarra and Bagdad A little later they shifted to Persia and Transoxania,
7 while at the extreme western corner Morocco and Cordova belonged to the same spiritual world We may well ask ourselves what connexion this had with Christendom and with the West In the eyes of Christendom, this puritan theocracy which had so suddenly arisen could not be confused with paganism, for Islam opposed idolatry, but tolerated the progeny of Abraham, Jews and Christians, who at least recognized the worship of a single God Islam therefore constituted a mysterious anti Christian arch heresy, Christians considered that to embrace Islam was not only to deny Christ, but also to adopt another social system and way of life

Almost everywhere the Muslim occupation involved a complete absorption into Muslim culture The principal basilicas were either transformed into mosques, or else, as at Kairouan, demolished and rebuilt as mosques on the colonnaded pattern The former Christian populations apostatized to Mahome- 225
tanism, though in Syria and Egypt there survived a Christian minority, and certain ancient communities, such as the Armenians and the Georgians, eventually regained their liberty Mozarabic Christendom survived in Spain, which, though formerly under the Visigoths, had been conquered and converted to Catholicism by Reccared But in such territories as North Africa which, next to Italy, was once the centre of Western Christendom, no trace of Christianity survived – over 600 dioceses have disappeared from the map For Christendom, the world of Islam was a direct antithesis and a constant menace But nonetheless, Islam made a decisive contribution to the cultural history of the West For a part of the Hellenic heritage, especially in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and philosophy, came back to the Christian West at the end of the XIIth century via Spain and Italy in translations from the Arabic or in translations into Arabic by Islamic scholars

For within the apparently narrow theocratic world of Islam there was from the beginning a subdued conflict between a rigid and obscurantist piety and the desire to reconcile on a rational basis the facts of Revelation – in this case the Koran and Tradition – with the scientific conception of the world which still survived in the schools and among the savants of the formerly Hellenistic countries In these occupied territories the Arabs had found the Nestorian and Monophysite schools with their translations of Greek authors in Syriac, a language allied to Arabic Thanks to the liberal attitude of certain Khalifs and to the intelligence both of the occupiers and the occupied, there arose at the court of Bagdad (where also lived St John Damascene, the first great doctor of the Greek Church) an intense intellectual activity which reached its peak around 800–850 To this milieu we owe the Arabic numerals, the zero, the decimal system and algebra It bequeathed us also a veritable library of translations and treatises on virtually all the topics of Hellenistic science, to say nothing of the Arab poetry that penetrated into the West and the decorative patterns of Perso Arabic architecture and minor art Im- 225
mediately after the era of Bagdad came that of Transoxania, where in the 227
North of the formerly Hellenistic kingdom of Bactria there had been born in the IXth and Xth centuries the great scholars who translated Plato and Aristotle into Arabic Some of them, like Ibn Sina, were to exercise much influence on the development of mediaeval scholasticism

So it was that in this out-of-the-way corner of the formerly Hellenistic World, which had never belonged to the Roman Empire and which was but an isolated outpost of Greek civilization, the Arabian thinkers prepared the way for the mediaeval synthesis between faith and science The world of Islam took away from Christianity her old cultural centres, she drove back the Faith and the Empire, but she gave back the heritage of Hellas, revised and transformed, through these unexpected channels

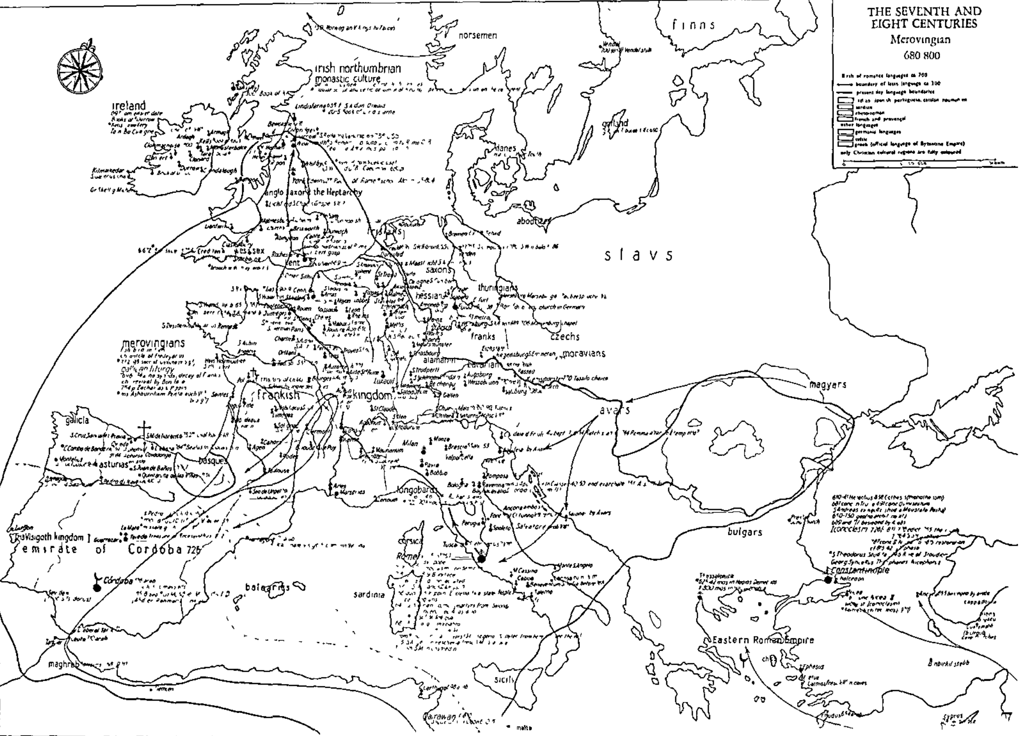
II
MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIANITY

THE BARBARIAN CENTURIES

THE map of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries (map 17) reveals two crucial moments for the West – the conversion of the Barbarians and the birth of the 'Romance' languages The former takes place outside, the latter inside, the frontiers of the former Empire

Of the three bases of the West – the Empire, the classical tradition and the Church – the Empire had disappeared and was little more than a concept and a noble memory The classical tradition had disappeared with the collapse of the school system which occurred in Gaul in the course of the VIth century and in Italy after the Lombard invasion Only the third basis, the Church, held fast It can even be claimed that in a certain sense the episcopal sees preserved the framework of the old Empire and the prestige of the old Italian cities, and in themselves constituted the only forms of civic culture The bishops in fact took over the functions of the former Roman officials, and became the true defenders of the *civitas* even in its temporal concerns The only surviving factor of the old culture was faith, and the government of the faithful lay in the hands of their ecclesiastical leaders What stand out on the maps of the cultural history of this period are not the changeable residencies – half-courts, half-farms – of the barbarian kings, but the episcopal towns, and even more the numberless abbeys so perfectly adapted to the new agrarian society

The ruling caste was the clergy, but the dominant force in spiritual affairs was not so much the average prelate of Merovingian Gaul (who was all too frequently a creature of the barbarian ruler), but rather the monks and the bishop-monks, who were generally of excellent education The primary function of this ruling class was not merely the copying of manuscripts but rather the Christianization of the Barbarians inside the old imperial frontiers, and the assimilation, and indeed the conversion, of those outside. It is not surprising, therefore, that this map is full of the names of great missionaries What *is* surprising, though, is that they mostly come, not from Rome or Italy, as had Augustine the founder of the see of Canterbury, but from the Irish and the Northumbrian monastic centres After many misunderstandings the Celtic and the Romano Benedictine monks had joined forces and spread over the Continent to the very borders of the Frankish kingdom to bring the Good Tidings to their pagan blood-relations They themselves were not Romans, but, as in the case of the Anglo-Saxons, Christians of the second or third generation To leave their own fatherland, which they called 'peregrinari',


THE SEVENTH AND EIGHT CENTURIES
Merovingian
680 800
finns
norsemen
irish northumbrian monastic culture
ireland
danes
gotland
slavs
anglo saxons the Heptarchy
kent
essex
frisians
saxons
thuringians
hessians
franks
czechs
moravians
bavarians
alamanni
merovingians
gallican liturgy
frankish kingdom
galicia
asturias
basques
Visigoth kingdom
emirate of Cordoba 726
Córdoba
balearics
corsica
Rome
sardinia
longobards
magyars
avars
bulgars
Constantinople
Eastern Roman Empire
sicily
maghreb
malta
cyprus



Iceland
874 Occup. by Vikings (Harald Harfager)
875 Reykjavik

Faroës

Orkney I

Hebrides
820

first raids 793

hordaland
ringerike
hedemark
norsemen
romerike
raknehang
650 Oseberg
rogaland
Borre

Vikings

end of irish culture the Vikings
late VIIIᶜ early IXᶜ
high crosses of Durrow Kells & Clonmacnoise
Book of Dimma
Book of Mulling
Stowe missal
Priscianus of Leiden
Book of Armagh
Gospel of Mc Regol of Birr
Gospels of Mc Durnan
Disaster the Vikings refugees
Dicuil, geogr
Sedulius Scotus
* Johannes Scotus Eriugena, b 810 philos

Lindisfarne 793 Vikings
Jarrow 794
Wearmouth
Armagh
Kells
Durrow
Ahenny
Ardagh
York school, Alcuin 735
Lincoln
danelagh
danes 849
Malmesbury
871 Alfred the Great Winchester
Canterbury

danes
Jellinge
Ansgar 829 30
Witmar
Hamburg
Bremen
Verden
saxons
frisians
Utrecht
Nijmegen
Münster
Osnabruck
Minden
Hildesheim
Gandersheim
Halberstadt
Paderborn
Corvey
Essen
Werden
Cologne
Aix la Chap
Liège
Stavelot
Prüm
Fulda
Hersfeld
Hochst
Mainz
Frankfurt
Lorsch
Seligenstadt
Ingelheim
Würzburg
bohemians
Regensburg
moravia
Freising
Augsburg
Wessobrunn
Salzburg
Kremsmünster
Reichenau
St Gallen
Chur
Chiemsee
Benediktbeuren
Disentis
Münster
Innichen
avars
magyars

Centula
Fontenelle
Rouen
Corbie
Saint-Denis
Hautvillers
Soissons
Reims
Chartres
Ferrière
Orléans
Fleury
Sens
Troyes
Le Mans
Tours
Poitiers
Autun
Besançon
Lyon
Bordeaux
Roncesvalles
Gellone
Aniane
Milan
Monza
Pavia
Cremona
Bobbio
Genoa
Pisa
Florence
Verona
Vicenza
Cividale
Grado
Ravenna
Spoleto
Rome
Corsica 806 arab
S. Vincenzo al Volturno
M. Cassino
Capua
Naples
Salerno
Amalfi
Bari 840 arab
south italy
constantinople
beginning of mid byzantine culture
sicily
Messina 842 arab
Taormina 902 arab
Siracusa 878 arab
malta 868 arab
Tunis
Aghlabites 800 909
After 870 (1000) no monuments, age of iron
the time of Theophylactus, Marozia & Alberic

770-850 Carolingian Renaissance
{678-814 * Charlemagne, 814 40 Louis the Pious
838-77 Chas the Bald, 843 Verdun, Louis the German Lothar
888 Eudes, roi de France}
Alcuin of York, 782 schola palatina revision of Bible text
Theodolf of Orleans (visigoth) * carol minuscule
Agobard (Midi) * rom archit & liturgy
Paulus Diaconus (lombard) sacramentarium Gregorianum
Petrus of Pisa copies of texts and miniatures of
Paulinus of Aquileia classical antiquity

[843-950 Vikings (zenith) Saracens, Magyars anarchy]

galicia
asturias
León
Pola
spanish march 809-12
Gerona
Tarrasa
Barcelona 801 frank
Tarragona
Zaragoza
S. Millán de la Cogolla
Seo de Urgel
Toledo
emirate of Cordoba
Cordoba
balearics
859
maghreb
788 Idris ben Abdallah, †791
788-921 Idrisids
Fez

THE NINTH CENTURY
Carolingian 768-900
Frankish kingdom at the death of Charlemagne 814
other Christian countries

liable And the Anglo Saxon missionaries not only reconciled Celtic Christendom in England with the Holy See and with the rites of the rest of Christendom but also kept France the oldest daughter of the Western Church united with Rome In 756 Pepin made his 'Donation to the Holy See the first symbol of that collaboration and that tension which was to govern the relations between the two great powers of the Middle Ages between the pope who was also a temporal sovereign and the Emperor who was also a Christian leader By his 'donation Pepin offered the See of Peter the territories which were to become the Papal States and in return the pope recognized the indubitable power of the Carolingian dynasty which had liberated him from the Lombard menace while the Byzantine emperor had stood passively by In a few years at the tomb of St Peter another pope was to consecrate another Carolingian as Roman Emperor independent of the Byzantines From the time of this rebirth of the Empire the West was permanently separated from the Greek East

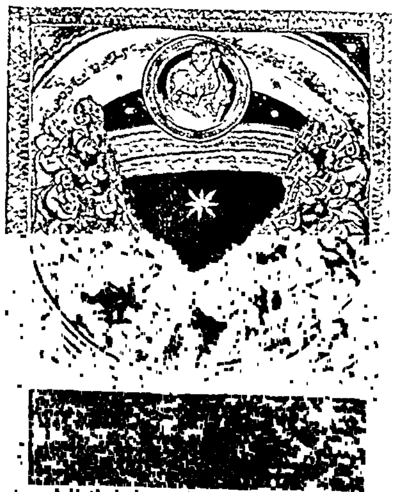
One after the other the Barbarians outside the imperial frontiers the Alamans the Hessians the Thuringians and the Frisians were won over to Christendom The Saxons however were not converted till the following
6 epoch Meanwhile the Avars had devastated the old Christian centres of Salona in Dalmatia and Aquileia in Venetia and their respective populations fled to Rome to Grado and to the lagoon on which rose the city of Venice The Arabs too had ravaged the West Gothic empire in Spain and had reached Narbonne Autun and Clermont when Charles Martel defeated them at Poitiers in 732 and drove them back over the Pyrenees At the same period the Bulgarians founded their great empire with its capital Preslav at the very gates of Constantinople The Greek Empire fell under an eastern dynasty which unloosed the Iconoclast conflict – a conflict which was not only directed against the consequences of the Incarnation but also against the forms of Christian humanism – and thus brought the very orthodoxy of the Greek Church into danger Only the Lombards became Catholic

The VIIth and VIIIth centuries have therefore with justice been called the barbarian centuries Western Christianity seems sometimes to be on the very point of disappearing and the overall picture is one of regression The only rays of hope come from some distant monasteries by the Scots border Wearmouth and Jarrow where the Venerable Bede lived and Lindisfarne where the masterpiece of Celtic illumination was probably produced and further south the small diocesan cities of Canterbury and York Between the Loire and the Rhine there are certainly innumerable monastic foundations of which many were to endure for centuries and to achieve distinction But for the rest it is regression

The Schools were dead and since Isidore of Seville the cataloguing of the surviving relics of Antiquity had ceased Eastern Christendom was in the hands of barbarians who seemed to outdo the Arab puritans in persecuting the monks and destroying the holy icons Rome itself was swamped with
173 Greek Syrian and Dalmatian refugees to such an extent that her very liturgy was Byzantinized – a process which included the introduction of feasts in honour of Our Lady And at Cordova not far from the city of St Isidore
15 Abd-er Rahman I began to construct his famous mosque from the truncated pillars of the Visigothic basilicas he had destroyed This mosque was to serve as a lasting reminder to Christendom that behind the Pyrenees there lay a more powerful culture enveloping the southern Mediterranean like a crescent moon with one tip on the shores of the Atlantic and the other in the heart of Asia not far from the frontiers of China

It is however this same torso of the Old Empire populated by barbarized Romans and with Christianized Germans on its frontiers that was to be the cradle of mediaeval Christianity And it is partly due to the new element the Barbarians that this Christianity developed such a great vitality that it eventually overshadowed the Arab world its antithesis and the Byzantine world its counterpart – two worlds which seemed at that moment to be so immutably superior This is a fact which from now on becomes increasingly evident In contrast to a Byzantium preoccupied with constantly repetitive dignified clichés and elegant and subtle variations on older themes comes the barbarian but soon to be Latinized West with its spontaneous and startlingly original creations In the VIIth and VIIIth centuries there are the Celtic miniatures insular script and the high crosses in England In the IXth century there 207
was the scholarly but bold adoption of the whole late Latin heritage that was 215
still available script miniatures ivories architectural types scholastic 232
authors and all In the Xth century the miniatures of Reichenau represent the flowering of Christo German expressionism (map 10) In the XIth and 252
XIIth centuries there comes within a few decades a rapidly rising stream of artistic developments all variants of the Roman basilica the portal the 295
richly turreted abbey church the stained glass window and the rebirth of monumental sculpture and then immediately on top of that the development of early Gothic In the same period in a different field we see the development of Latin poetry and Bernardine prose in other words a living mediaeval Latin Victorine and Bernardine mysticism flourishes beside the dialectic of Abelard and the later development of scholastic theology and philosophy Finally in the vernacular we have the rise of epic poetry and the Provençal lyric

The least remarkable of all these creations is the rise of a vernacular literature This could not have taken place without the growth of the Romance languages which all derived from Latin Italian Spanish Catalan Portuguese French Rheto Roman Sardinian and Rumanian This growth of the vernacular languages is a decisive event in the history of western culture and takes place in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries The process had already begun in the time of Augustus and was due to the gradual disappearance of the terminations in spoken vulgar Latin thus making it an analytic language Formerly everything was contained in the single word but now the pronouns and auxiliary verbs began to develop and the aspirative accent of the vernacular eliminated the former musical and quantitative accent The Church too with her compact biblical language drove the written language more and more towards the vernacular in many ways Naturally the formal school Latin remained for centuries as the primary cultural language properly speaking for it was the language of the Church and it was soon to become the primary language of the Schools after their revival in the Carolingian Renaissance Nevertheless there was also the lingua rustica romana the teutiscan of the Council of Tours (815) and one of the first documents to be written in it is the Oaths of Strasburg of 842 In Italy the epitaph of Pope Gregory V dated 999 speaks of him as a man of three languages and is thus one of the earliest indications of the conscious recognition of vulgar Latin as a true language From this humble origin were born those incomparable instruments of thought Spanish Italian and above all French the Greek of the West But we know scarcely anything of their development in the dark barbarian ages of those Merovingian saints whose vitae were recorded in an almost formless church Latin and of whom we possess no portraits because no one in the West was any longer capable of drawing even a stylized shape let alone a portrait







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233
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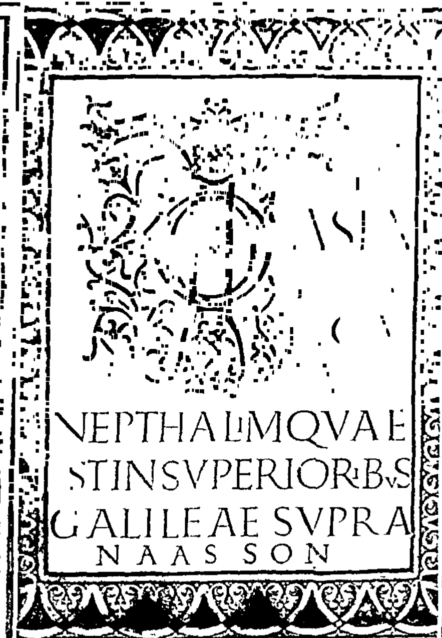






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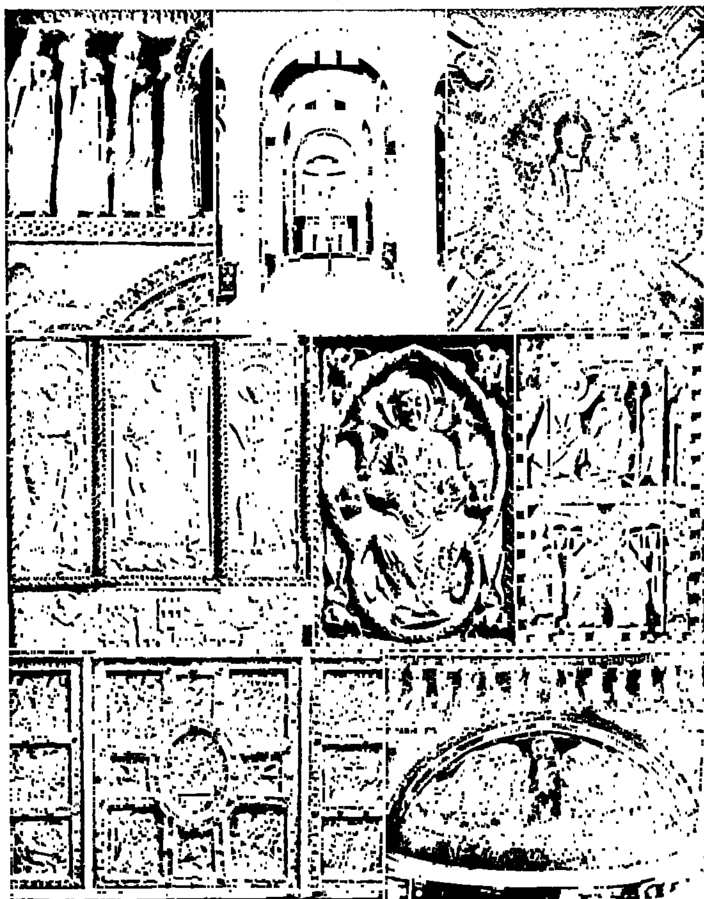




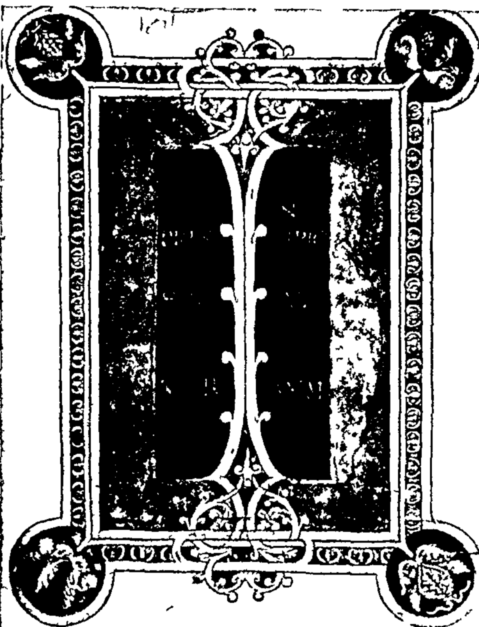
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232/ The Adoration of the Lamb by the 24 Ancients. Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran, Munich, Staatsbibliothek. **233/** Utrecht Psalter, fol. 8v.: illustration of Ps. 16. *Specimen of textual illustration, picture by picture and verse by verse.* Utrecht, University Library. **234/** Miniature from the Golden Psalter, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 22. *The figures are in costumes of the IXth cent.* **235/** Charles the Fat and the four cardinal virtues. Miniature frontispiece from the Bible of St. Paul-without-the-Walls, Rome. Illuminated at St.-Denis, 880-888. **236/** St. John the Evangelist, evangelarium of Lorsch, early IXth cent. Vatican Library. **237/** Bible of St. Paul-without-the-Walls. Genesis. **238/** The same MS.: the visions of Isaias and the prophecy of the Virgin Birth. **239/** The same MS.: *the beginning of the Book of Tobias.* **240/** The same MS.: the third Book of Kings (the Anointing and Judgement of Solomon).

[cf. map 18]



241/ Cividale, Sta. Maria-in-Valle stucco figures 242/ Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret) Cruciform church of the villa of Theodulf bishop of Orleans 243 Rome, Sta. [illegible] in the cupola of the chapel of St Zeno, 817-824 244/ Ivory binding of the Lorsch evangelarium Christ crushing underfoot the lion and the dragon Below the [illegible] Magi The Vatican, Museo Cristiano 245/ Christ in His Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists. Ivory bookbinding Berlin 246/ The Annunciation [illegible] Ivory from Genoels-Elderen Brussels, Musées Royaux d Art et d Histoire Late VIIIth cent. 247/ Centrepiece of golden antependium (paliotto) by the goldsmith [illegible] altar of St. Ambrose. 248/ Rome, Sta. Maria in Domnica. Apsidal mosaics and triumphal arch with Pope Paschal I at the feet of the Mother of God, 817-824 [illegible] *appearance of the feeling for graphic delineation*















249/ The beginning of St Luke (QUONIAM), Reichenau, ca 1000 Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum 250/ The same MS the beginning of St John (IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM) 251/ The same MS specimen of the script *The MS is an evangelistarium or pericope, containing passages from the Gospels for the different liturgical feasts* 252/ The Arrest of Jesus, Codex Egberti, Reichenau, 980 Trier, Stadtbibliothek 253/ The same MS dedication, with bishop Egbert and his scribes 254/ The same MS Pentecost 255/ Illustration of Ps 25 v 6 ('I will wash my hands among the innocent, and will compass thy altar O Lord) Stuttgart Psalter, Xth cent 256/ The Son of Man and the Seven Churches Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse Mozarabic MS , Xth cent New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 257/ Hell, Winchester Psalter, XIIth cent , cf no 256 for contrast between Xth and XIth cent styles [cf map 19]

THE TENTH CENTURY

Ottonian

Iceland

hordaland

norsemen

rogaland

gotland

strathclyde

Armagh

Dubl

York

saxon

Peterborough

Clapham

Winchester

Canterbury

Chichester

normandy

le Mans

Tours

Poitiers

Limoges

Cluny

burgund a

Conques

Arles

Frisia

Egmond

Utrecht

Deventer

Cologne

saxon

Braunschweig

Magdeburg

Merseburg

ostmark

poland

no dmark

Hildesheim

Ottonian culture

danes

Pavia

Monza

Verona

Venice

Cremona

lombards

tuscany

age of iron

Rome

Monte Cassino

Capua

Napoli

eastern empire

Constantinople

Leon from 910

mozarabic churches

S.Miguel de Escalada

Barcelona

Montserrat

Tarragona

emirate

after 929 khalifate of Cordoba

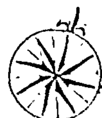
Cordoba

Medinat-Az Zahra

maghreb







normandy • Chanson de Roland 1065

Tours

Paris

Chartres

cluny early romanesque

el camino de Santiago

Santiago de Compostela



ireland

scotland

england

saxon
after 1066 norman

Durham

Winchester

Chartres

Cluny

Tarragona

Ripoll

pre-romanesque art

arelate
burgundi

Spires

Echternach

Reichenau

Venice

Pisa

Rome

Naples

Salerno

sardinia

Sicily

denmark

saxony

poland

zenith of ottonian art
followed by
art of salic empire

hungary

serbia

deutero byzantine

eastern roman empire

Constantinople

1095 crusades

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
early Roman period

☐	Holy Roman Empire
☐	France
☐	Normandy and England
☐	other chr. countries

SS = scriptorium
cf map 49

0 — 1:11,000,000 — 500 km

About 800 the harassed West could breathe again Charles the Great restored the Christian Empire which had been unobtrusively extinguished in the course of the Vth century It was not by chance that he has become a legendary figure and shares with Constantine and Theodosius the title of the Great For after the oppression and chaos of the beginning of the VIIIth century he had restored the Empire and laid the foundations of a cultural renaissance within its frontiers At his death the Empire stretched from Barcelona to Denmark and the Elbe and from Monte Cassino to the Channel From the Emir of Cordova he had wrested the Spanish March which was to become in later ages the nursery of so much Romanesque architecture He annihilated the plundering Avars on the banks of the Danube he put an end to the Lombard kingdom *and thus joined Italy (except for the half Byzantine south) to* the northern Frankish Empire soon to be the Holy Roman Germanic Empire For the first time the West formed a complete entity To the north lay the cultural focus of the previous period – the Anglo-Saxon civilization with its capital at York to the south there lay the heroic Christian bridgehead into the land of the Emirs – the Asturias which was to be the origin of Catholic Spain

The culture that Charlemagne restored was the old Christian culture of the *Constantinian and Theodosian Empire He accomplished the work himself* from the top by means of detailed laws *(capitularia)* and also by means of a kind of international brains trust under the leadership of Alcuin an Anglo Saxon savant from York The leading spirits of the time though mostly belonging to such centres as Fulda (founded by St Boniface) came from many nations There was the Visigoth Theodore of Orleans (founder of the little
12 country church of Germigny les Prés which still exists today) and the Lombard Paul the Deacon there were the Italians Peter of Pisa and Paulinus of Aquileia, there were the Frenchmen Agobard St Angilbert (architect of the imposing turreted Centula) Einhard the biographer and Servatus Lupus of Ferrières the classicist and there were the Irish Dungal Dicuil and the brilliant wandering Platonist John Scotus Erigena who knew Greek and who translated the pseudo Dionysius But all were united in a common cause

What the Emperor wanted was a Christian culture in an ecclesiastical state administered by an executive of efficient and cultured officials (principally bishops and abbots) working under his personal direction He wanted a culture on the old Christian model and up to the old Roman standards and he saw in the Imperial Church the instrument to achieve this Everything had to be Roman – basilicas iconography language schools and liturgy And everything had to be genuine so he had the text of the Bible revised at Tours in the light of the best ancient mss Further the alphabetic script was improved
32 and there was born the Carolingian minuscule which gradually supplanted the
39 English insular script He had the Gallican liturgies replaced by the Roman and received for the purpose a type codex from the Pope the Gregorian Sacramentary' He supported Benedict of Aniane in his monastic reforms and decreed the use of the Rule of St *Benedict for all the great abbeys of the* Empire It was these abbeys – Tours Hautvillers Centula (St Riquier) Ferrières Auxerre Saint Denis Corbie Fulda St Gall Reichenau and Corvey – that became the real centres of the Carolingian Renaissance

This interference had its drawbacks Charlemagne a faithful reader of Augustine s *De Civitate Dei* was all too frequently inclined to think of himself as a sort of czar reformer and such an episode as the conversion of the Saxons after their eventual subjection is a classic example of violent proselytization Also in the iconoclast controversy which was then a pressing problem in the Eastern Empire Charlemagne and his advisers adopted at the Synod of Frankfurt and in the *Liber Carolini* an unhellenic and typically northern standpoint that ran counter to the Council of Nicaea of 787 and to the policy of the Holy See itself

But if we stop to consider the result of the Carolingian Renaissance which
235 under Charles the Bald reached its zenith at the centres of Tours and Saint Denis then we cannot fail to observe the deep gulf which separates the preceding barbarian ages from this and the succeeding ages A decisive revival had indeed taken place Anyone who doubts this has only to examine the manuscripts of the period and observe the improvements in text script illumination and binding

224 Before Charlemagne the script is unsure of itself the text clumsy and
223 full of faults and no one can draw a human figure The Celts had conjured up
211 their brilliant but endlessly repetitive binding decorations and intangled the human figure in spirals and convolutions and the Merovingian scribes had contented themselves with their feeble fish or bird initials What dominates is the fantastic and formless pattern which is not to be wondered at from Nordic peoples who had not known of Graeco-Roman antiquity It is difficult even for the specialist to make out from the crowded and stylized arabesques of these patterns what is of prehistoric Sarmatic Germanic or Celtic origin But on one thing all are agreed it is a pattern and in a non classical manner

In the Carolingian scriptoria and binderies on the contrary they copied painfully and industriously not only the ancient text but also the difficult and elaborate illusionistic miniatures and ivories of late antiquity Thus there developed a Wardour Street Latin together with a naïvely antiquated figurative style It was only natural that the copyists should no longer understand the finer points of their models and they could not reproduce the articulation of the human figure or convey the impression of three dimensionality *Nonetheless the portrayal of the human figure came once more to* the fore albeit in murals (an example is preserved in the crypt of the Abbey of St Germain at Auxerre) and in ivory binding decorations and in miniatures

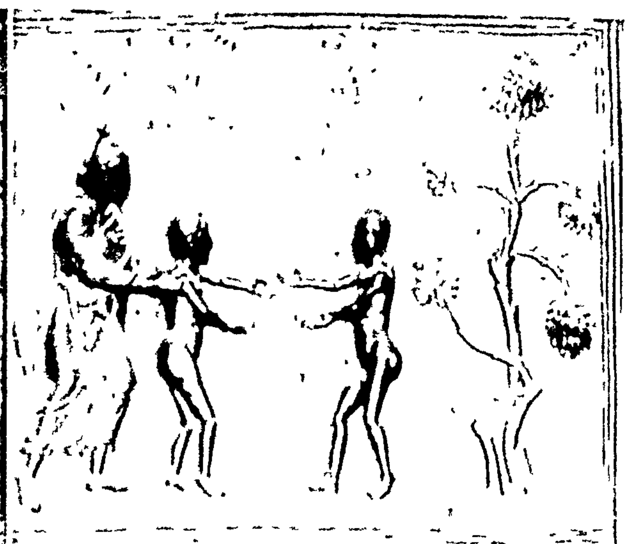
A glance at the plates relating to this period is sufficient to show that this 2
century and the two following are the centuries of the book Nothing embodies 2
the culture of this period so much as a large richly illuminated codex They are always liturgical books evangelaria (containing the Gospels) evangelistaria (containing the Gospels arranged for the liturgical year) antiphonaria *(containing the anthems) and sacramentaria (containing the fixed prayers* 2
for the Mass) Then again we find complete Bibles like that of St Paul without the Walls psalters in which the monarch sometimes had himself depicted as the new David ecclesiastical histories and copies of the Latin classics and of course the Carolingian school exercises in Latin poetry and prose

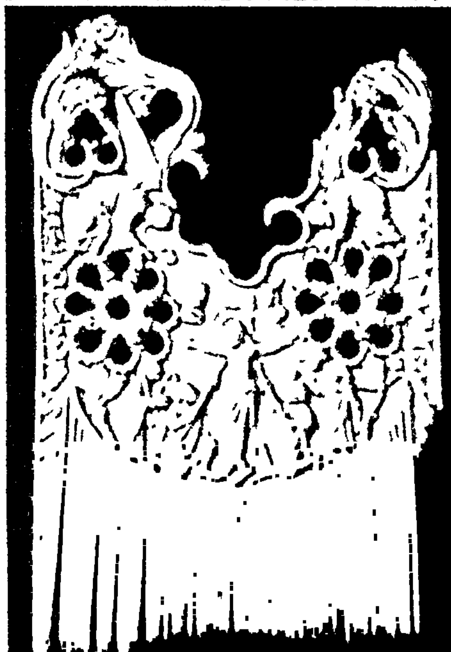
In architecture there was less originality The palatine chapel at Aix la Chapelle was a variant of the rotunda of late antiquity the basilicas of Fulda and elsewhere copied such Roman models as St Peter s and in Rome itself 2
the new churches such as St Praxedis clung to the old examples The most original feature was in the adaptation of the old basilica to northern requirements a development which began earlier but which was now fully completed It was chiefly in the great abbeys such as Centula that the basilica was transformed from a simple interior into a complex structure with a vertical silhouette with towers a massive West front porticoes and a crypt for relics In the Germanic lands the largest churches retained their Carolingian ground plan till well into the XIIIth century

The Carolingian Empire with its purely scholastic cultural programme crumbled after the death of Charlemagne What remained was not a Roman state ruled by clerical officials but a primitive agrarian community with quarrelsome overlords Its security was gone and all that followed was anarchy and chaos The pagan Vikings from Norway who in the reign of Charlemagne had already destroyed Irish culture began their systematic raids on the Western coasts The Saracen pirates from Aghlabite Tunis plundered Italy and even ravaged the tombs of the Apostles (which led to the first fortification of the Vatican City by Leo IV) The Magyars fell upon Istria and the Germanic *lands in Cordova the Great Mosque grew in proportions to the rising hostility* 2
towards the Christians and many fled to the hills of Asturia Between 870 and 2
1000 not a single monument in Rome was built or restored and the Holy See itself was profaned by the creatures of rival families Throughout the West the monks fled with the relics of their founders into the hinterland and the translation of St Philibert to Tournus is a sign of the times City life survived almost only in Italy and in the Carolingian lands between the Loire and the Weser the defenceless population rallied round the few strong points Humanity became divided into lords and their followers and the feudal community began But the essential contribution of the Carolingian Renaissance was preserved for better days

On the map of the Xth century (map 19) justly called the iron century we can see where from around 950 those better times began The West is divided into two parts the German Empire plus Italy and the kingdom of 2
France England liberated from the Danes has seen the emergence of a renowned scriptorium at Winchester recently the capital of Alfred the Great But the secure and constantly flourishing centres lie on the German side far 24
from the coasts in the Ottonian Empire Of these Reichenau the abbey on the island in Lake Constance undoubtedly bears the palm It is there that the 25
first masterpieces of mediaeval expressionism see the light manuscripts like the *Codex Egberti*, the sumptuous manuscripts (including the *Apocalypse* of 25
1000) ordered by Henry the Saint for the cathedral at Bamberg and possibly also the altar frontal of Basel Nearby lay St Gall of the two Notkers and the four Ekkehards further north there was Trier Echternach and Cologne to the east Augsburg Regensburg Tegernsee and Salzburg The real centre was *Saxony the region to the west of the see of Magdeburg founded by Otto I*



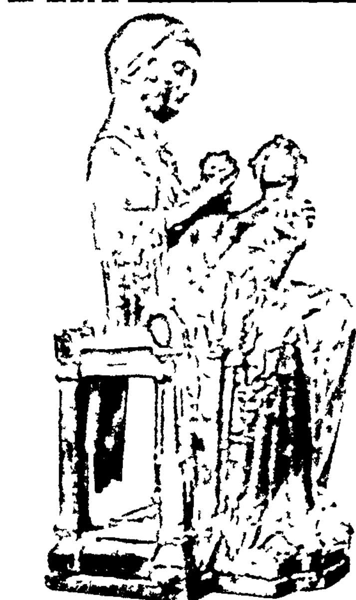


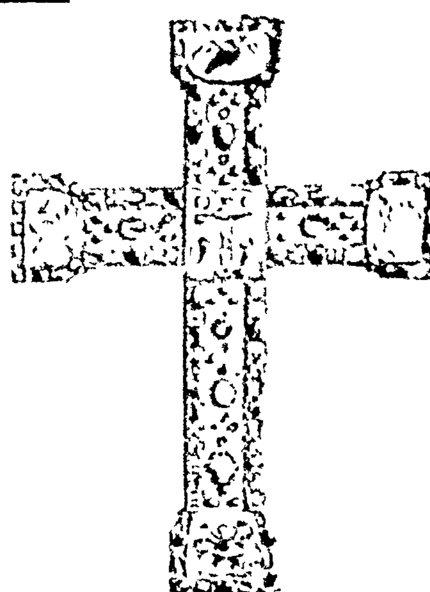






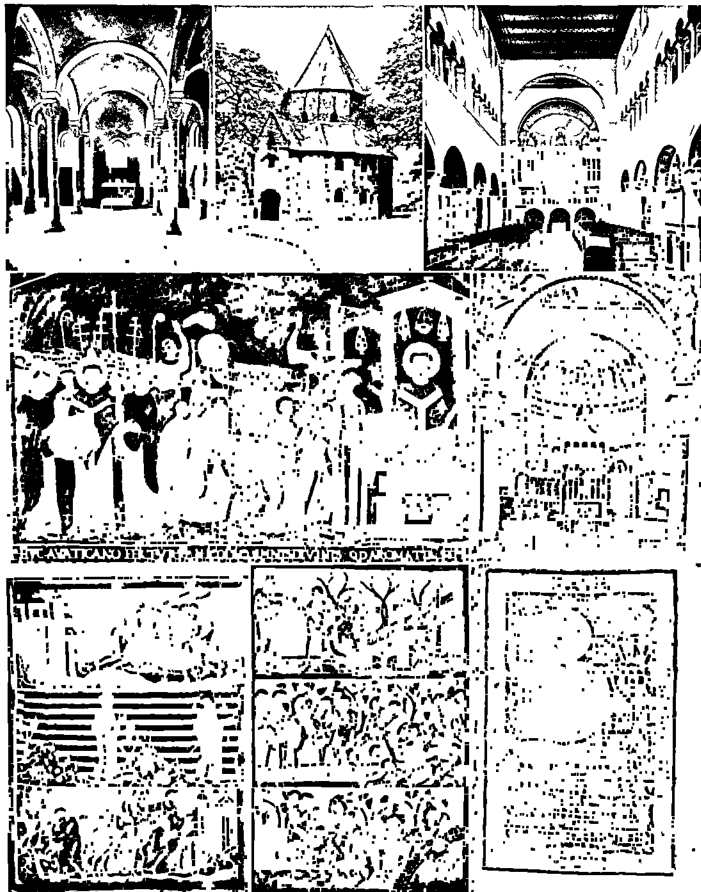
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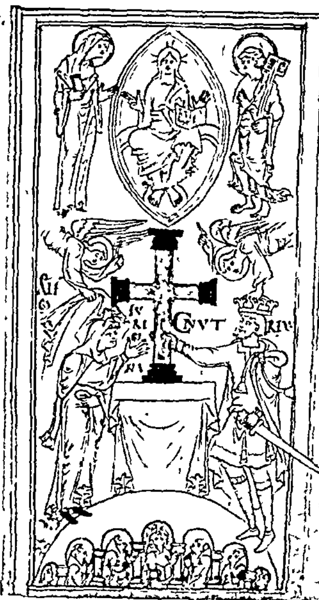


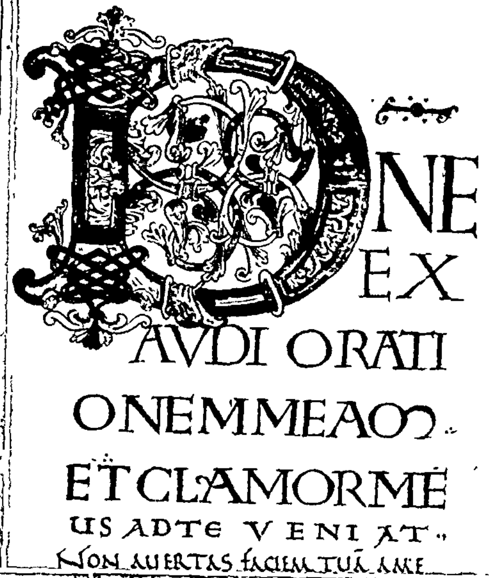
258 Antependium at Basel cedarwood with gold mounting Ca 1020 probably from Reichenau St Benedict, God the Father, and the three Archangels 259/ Detail from bronze door of Hildesheim Cathedral (from St Michael) the Creator brings Eve to Adam Work of bishop Bernward, early XIth cent 260 262/ Liturgical comb, ivory, from Metz, early Xth cent Cologne Kunstgewerbemuseum 261/ The Ascension Ivory from Metz, late IXth cent , set in bookbinding of later period St Paul in Lavantthal (Carinthia), Stiftsbibliothek 263 Virgin and Child, wood with gold mounting Early XIth cent Essen Stiftskirche, *one of the oldest surviving devotional statues* 264/ Cruciform reliquary with inlaid enamels of the Crucifixion and the Four Living Creatures Early XIth cent Essen, Stiftskirche 265/ Detail from the cross of Matilda and duke Otto, enamel with portraits of the donors (MATHILDE ABBATISSA, OTTO DUX) 973 1011 Essen Stiftskirche [cf maps 19 and 20]



266/ Paderborn chapel of St. Bartholemew The oldest German Hallenkirche ca. 1017 Built for b shop Meinwerk by Greek craftsmen 267/ N jmegen Palat ne chapel on the Valkhof Xth cent. 268/ Gernrode St Cyriac nave of a Xth cent convent church *Note the rhythm cal impress on of the trad t onal spat al treatment of a bas l ca* 269/ Translation of the relics of St Clement from the Chersonese to Rome Fresco n the lower church of St Clement Rome XIth cent *R contemporary p cture of the celebrat on of the Eucharist note the l turgical vestments and the decorat on of the altar* 270/ Rome Sta. Marla in Trastevere apse After 1140 271/ Parable of the Good Samar tan Codex Aureus of Henry II school of Echternach 1045-1046 Escorial Spain 272/ Parable of the Workers In the Vineyard Codex of St. Bernulph Utrecht, Archiep scopal Museum 273/ Titlepage (Psalm 1) of a psalter After 1000 V enna Nat onalbibliothek [cf ma and 20]



















274/ Psalter, ps. 51,1 (QUID GLORIARIS IN MALITIA. Why dost thou glory in malice?). English. London, British Museum. Late Xth cent. **275/** Register of New Minster with *portrait of Canute. From Winchester. 1016-1020. London, British Museum.* **276/** *Ps. 101,1 (DOMINE EXAUDI ORATIONEM MEAM: Lord hear my prayer). English, late Xth cent.* London, British Museum. **277/** The Vessels of Wrath. Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse. Mozarabic, 1109. London, British Museum. **278/** From an English psalter of the Winchester school, late Xth cent. London, British Museum. **279/** The Annunciation, German, late XIIth cent. (note Byzantine influence). **280/** Christ crowning Gereon and Victor. Ivory, Cologne, early XIth cent. **281/** Beginning of St. Luke (QUONIAM QUIDEM). From Canterbury, early XIth cent. London, British Museum. **282/** Man and Eagle. Fragment of binding, Xth cent. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum.

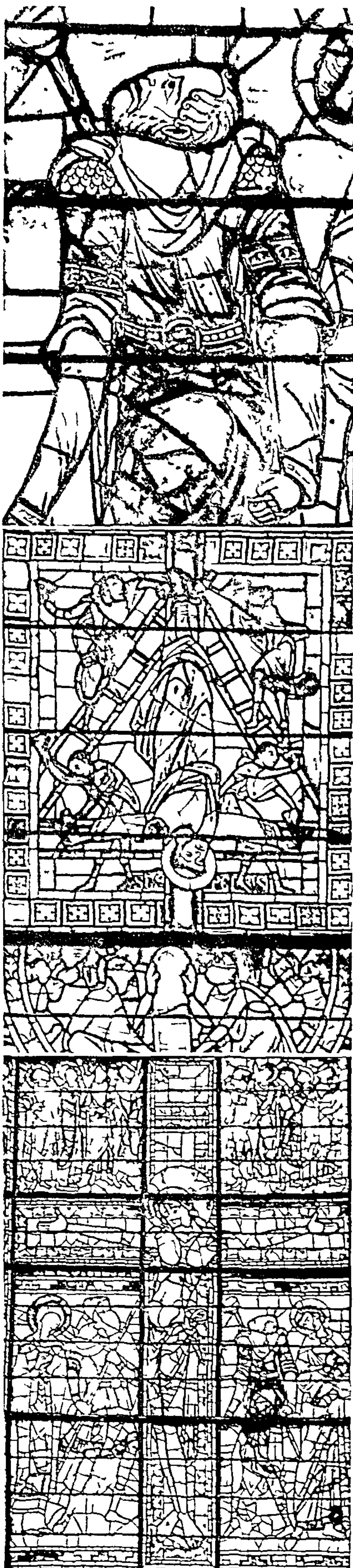
[cf. maps 19 and 20]



From the pre Conquest per od 600 1066 only scanty and small bu ld ngs surv ve Of this Saxon arch tecture three spec men are g ven here 283/ Escomb (Durham) in Northumbr a. Bu t *about 700 by abbot Bened ct Biscop 284/ Bradford on-Avon (W lts) The porch has disappeared* (gable v s ble) Founded about 700? Decorated 900-1000 285/ Earls Barton (Northants) West tower About 935 *Immed ately after 1066 Norman architecture was introduced the Normans be ng great bu lders* 286-287/ Iffley (Oxon) St Mary s West front and view from chancel 12th cent (283-287 Courtesy to Mr Edwin Smith and to Thames & Hudson Ltd London publishers of Engl sh Parish Churches , 4 9-289/ St Albans (Herts) abbey church (now cathedral) Early Norman 1080 1115 290/ Winchester (Hants) cathedral Begun 1079 North transept (288-290 Courtesy ürich of Englische Kathedralen by M Hürl mann)

274/ Psalter,
trait of Canut
London, Briti
Winchester sc
Ivory, Cologı
binding, Xth c





296-298/ Details from the east window of Poitiers cathedral (cf no 445), XIIth cent **296/** Stephaton offering the sponge **297/** The crucifixion of St Peter, underneath the donors holding a model of the window itself **298/** The Crucifixion, above, ower half of the Ascension

the conqueror of the Magyars, as an outpost against the Wends and the Slavs Gernrode, Hildesheim Halberstadt and Quedlinburg have still preserved their monuments from this robust period 26

Reichenau lay on the way to Italy on the spiritual axis of the Ottonian epoch And when at the very end of the Xth century Otto III (son of a Byzantine princess) met at Rome the artist bishop Bernward of Hildesheim and the learned and much travelled Gerbert of Aurillac (soon to become 25
Sylvester II), then can we truly say that the 'iron century' has ended

The mention of Otto's Greek mother, Theophano, reminds us that the whole of the West at this time lay under the spell of the mid-Byzantine renaissance which had reached its zenith at Constantinople before 900 and which put in the shade whatever the younger and more expressive West could itself offer at that moment Thus it is impossible to think of the future 'Romanesque' drawings and icono 56
graphy apart from the classicized mid-Byzantine clichés 57

Shortly after 900 Cluny was founded the abbey which was to burn like a bright spiritual light through so many ages It first established itself under a succession of holy and long lived abbots, Odo Mayolus, Odilo, and Hugo, and became the mother house of an immense family which by 1100 numbered 30
more than fourteen hundred abbeys and priories (map 22) It can indeed be said that for a long time the Cluniacs were synonymous with the élite of Christendom Western Christendom from the XIth to the beginning of the XIIth century owes to Cluny the reform of the Roman Curia, the organization of the pilgrimage to Compostella, the Franco Spanish collaboration for the reconquest of Spain a way of life at once aristocratic and liturgical, and an incalculable number of 'Romanesque' works of art

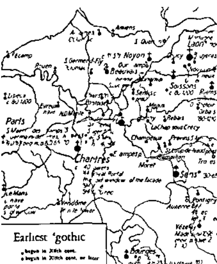
By the XIth century (map 20) the sombre phase has definitely ended The West is still far from being spiritually independent, for it has scarcely come of age In the south lay the fascinating Arab world with its centre at Cordova, in the east lay mid Byzantine Christendom, irradiating as far as South Germany and Venice These two worlds were still superior to the West although they had already passed 22
their zenith But for the first time the West enjoyed the feeling of security The Vikings, even those 57
of Iceland, the land of the Edda and the Sagas, had been baptized, and this time without compulsion 57
Between the West and the East (where the Russians had just been won for the Greek Church) there 58
came into being a belt of Latin Christian peoples and border states the western Slavs, Poland and the Hungary of St Stephen The Cross appeared again in Coimbra and Toledo, and the Spanish Crusade was followed about 1100 by the first general Crusade against the occupiers of the Holy Places The Arabic world was on the decline and Western Christendom, stretching from Lisbon to Trondhjem and from Ireland to the Vistula, realizes its own strength and begins its irresistible expansion

Within this Christendom there developed an agelong struggle between two powers the spiritual power represented by Cluny and the Holy See, and the Imperial The investiture of bishops and abbots by the laity was but the pretext the real point at issue was the freedom of the Church. Thanks to the integration of the Cluniac milieu and to the inflexibility of Gregory VII, the Church was the winner Henceforth Church and Empire lived in one society, but each in its own domain and the new basilica of St Hugo at Cluny, which was dedicated by the Pope in 1095 and was to become the greatest church 30
in Christendom, easily outshone the enormous cathedral of the Emperor at Spires 31

The XIth century is with justice called the century of experiments, for what in the XIIth century received its decisive form was now tested and prepared The schools of Tours Chartres and Paris are now spoken of – at Paris the controversy over general concepts *(universalia)* began, and with it early scholasticism' In architecture there appear those remarkable monuments which the experts call 'early Romanesque In Catalonia we have the first barrel-vaulted churches such as Ripoll and Cardona, in Burgundy we have the group of churches around Tournus and the rotunda of St Bénigne at Dijon After 1050 Abbot *Desiderius built the church of Monte Cassino and there arose also the second* and third churches of Cluny, models of countless others Along the roads to Compostella sprang up the great pilgrims' churches with their ambulatories and groups of chapels round the choir, an already existent feature (probably since 919 at Tours) but now for the first time fully developed in Conques, in St -Sernin at Toulouse, in St -Étienne at Nevers in Fleury (the repository of St Benedict's relics), 311
and in *Compostella* itself In Normandy an impressive spate of building produced large churches with 306
tribunes, unvaulted and sparsely decorated and after the conquest of England in 1066 the same type was built on the other side of the Channel by the initiative of the French ruling caste, and thus 32
'Saxon' was replaced by 'Norman In Durham indeed, there appeared in 1095 *the first rib vaulting* 30

In the south of France was produced one of the most beautiful manuscripts in the world the Apocalypse of St -Sever, an early Romanesque copy of an old christian cycle with Mozarabic gloss In the same region we find around 1100 the sudden, semi-miraculous rebirth of monumental sculpture in such examples as the portals of Moissac, Beaulieu Toulouse, and Souillac, and later at Autun Vézelay 317
and other places in *Burgundy The portal* itself, with its tympanum and concentric vaulting, is one of the great innovations of the period And under the Salic Emperors there arose the great basilicas 324
of Hersfeld and Limburg on Hardt, and the colossal imperial cathedral at Spires which was vaulted 342
in 1081 These churches were more archaic and simpler than the French though in their own way no less impressive Everywhere the master builders tried out their solutions to the central problem how to cover a wide nave other than with a wooden roof, which was too easily combustible The future architectural schools were already beginning to appear The progress in sixty years can be estimated by comparing such a church as St -Martin-du Canigou and Vignory with an edifice like Sainte-Foy at Conques

About 1065 in Normandy, perhaps on Mont Saint Michel, the Song of Roland was created – a sign that the epic and heroic period is past Now, after the period of heroic exertion the two fruits of a securely established culture, philosophy and the lyric, can come into their own But a dark shadow lies over the XIIth century, the breakaway of the Greek Church from the Holy See an agelong estrangement has turned into schism





renaissance
in the west
1100 40 mature romanesc
1140 94 early gothic
the cistercians
the cities
Paris early scholasticism
Chartres

norman

connaught

Cologne

Compostela

Toledo

Cordoba

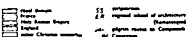
Rome

arabo-byz
norman

Palermo

Apulia

THE TWELFTH CENTURY
the birth of Europe



CLUNY
Hirsau & the Lotharingian
monastic reforms
910-1150

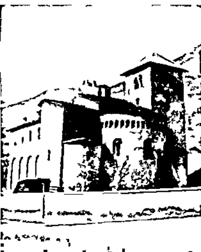
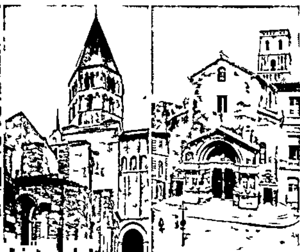
= cluniac area approx frontiers of provinces
Souvigny = abbey or priory belonging to original cluniac family
Fleury = reformed or influenced from Cluny
= reformed from Dijon Stablo or Verdun
= congregation of Hirsau
= reformed from Fructuaria Einsiedeln or St. Emmeran

22

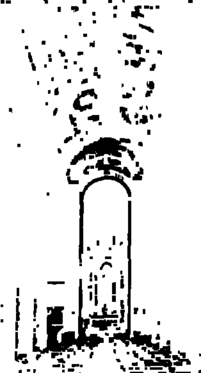
CITEAUX
principal Cisterian
monasteries of the 12th-13th cents

prefence is given to those still surviving as architectural monuments. In France the majority have disappeared
the five oldest daughter houses of Citeaux
- eastern and western frontier of Latin Christendc
—— western frontiers of orthodox Christendom

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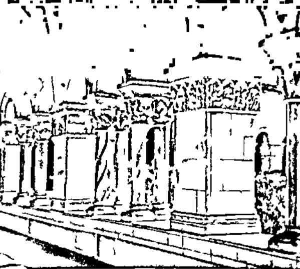




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309/ Cahors, cathedral, XIth cent. West front (tympanum with Ascension, XIIth cent.) *Example of Aquitaine church with cupolas.* **310**/ Périgueux, cathedral of St. Front. Imitation of St. Mark's, Venice. XIIth cent. **311**/ Nevers, St.-Etienne. *Cluniac abbey church with ambulatory and side chapels.* **312**/ Cluny, capital from choir. Adam and Eve hiding themselves from God. Before 1100. **313**/ St.-Benoît-sur-Loire. XIth cent. capital. **314**/ Charlieu, detail from XIIth cent. portico. Lasciviousness: a woman bitten bij snakes and toads. **315**/ St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, XIth cent. capital. **316**/ Poitiers, Museum. Capital from St.-Hilaire-le-Grand. Discord. *Examples of the rebirth of sculpture between 1050 and 1120.* [cf. maps 20 and 21]

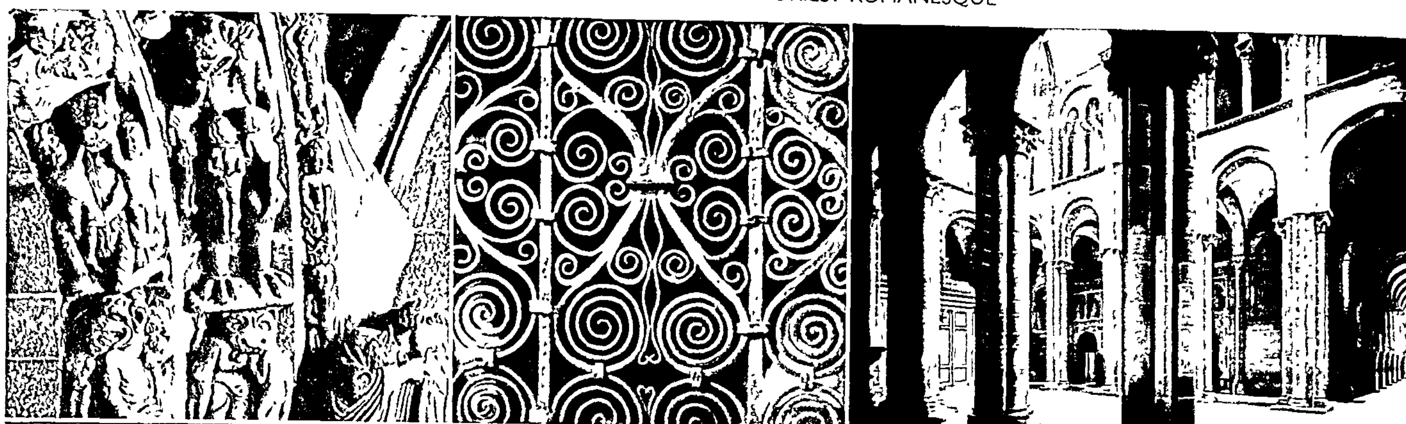


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317/ Chartres Cathedral Tympanum and surrounds from the Porta l Royal Ca 1140 1145 318/ Vézelay [illegible]
de Naud The forefathers of Chr st West portal after 1150 320/ Toulouse St Sernin Bas rel ef in ambulatory [illegible]
of St Jun en The Mother of God enthroned in Glory XIIth cent 322/ Mo ssac Abbey Capital in cloisters [illegible]
has disappeared) XIIth cent. 324/ Deta l from a double capital from the Daurade a mermaid [illegible]
Toulouse Musée des Augustins XIIth cent



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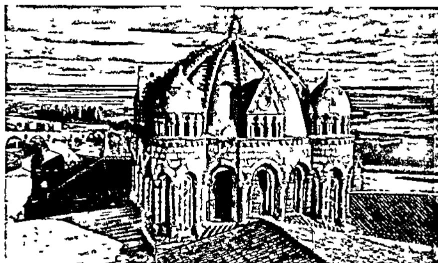
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325/ Compostela, detail from the Pórtico de la Gloria. **326**/ Detail from XIIth cent. choir-screen, du Puy Cathedral. **327**/ Compostela, transept. *The cathedral belonged to the same foundation as Conques and St.-Sernin-de-Toulouse.* **328**/ The Sacrifice of Abraham. From a York psalter. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum. XIIth cent. **329**/ Ordeal by water and fire. Miniature from a *rituale* of Lambach (Austria). **330**/ The Presentation in the Temple. From an evangelistarium of Citeaux. Laon, Bibl. Municipale. **331**/ *Christ in His Majesty. Enamel from Limoges.* Paris, Musée de Cluny. **332**/ St-Savin-sur-Gartempe. Frescoes in the narthex: the Opening of the Pit of Destruction, and the Woman and the Dragon. From the Apocalypse. XIth cent. **333**/ Berzé-la-Ville. Detail from apsidal fresco by Cluniac artists. Somewhat before 1100.

[*cf.* maps 20 and 21]





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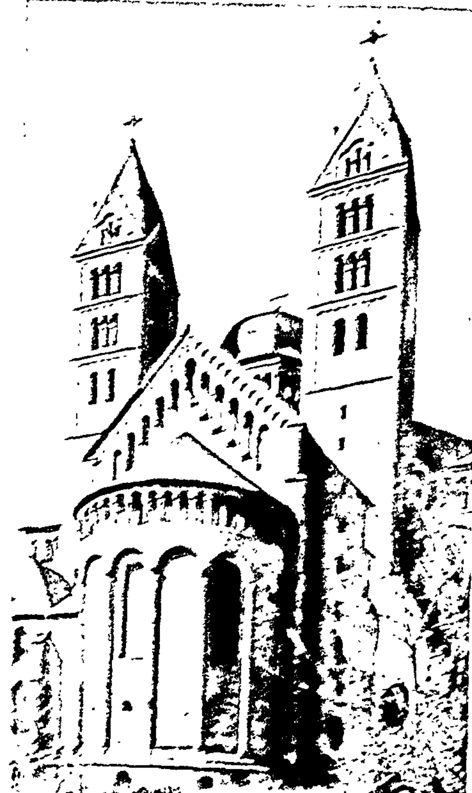


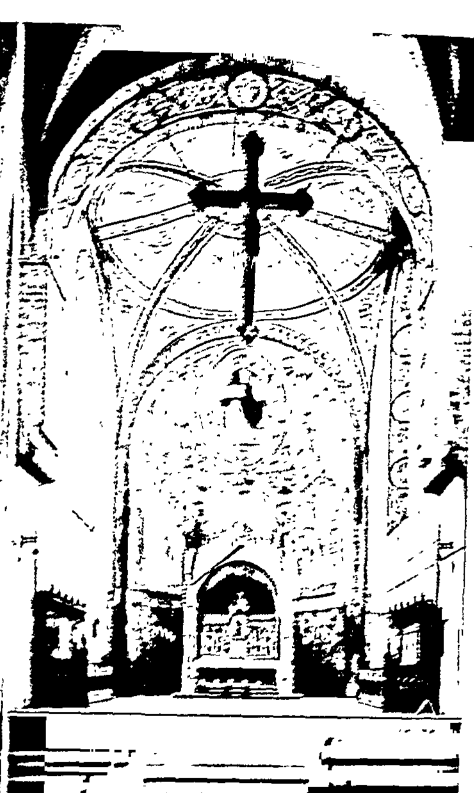




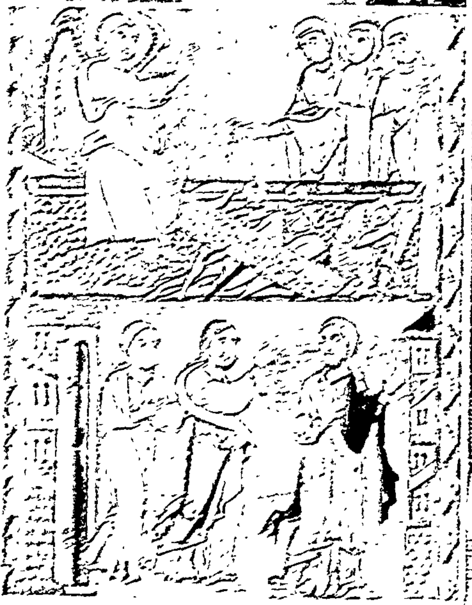
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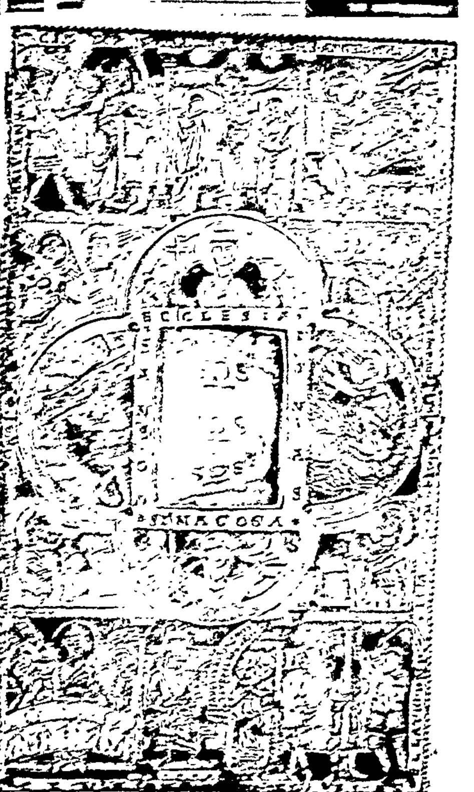
334/ Zamora decorative cupola of the cathedral 335/ Tahull Sant Clement. Small XIth cent church in the Pyrenees (the apsidal frescoes are now in the Museum of Barcelona, one of the treasure houses of Romanesque painting) 336/ Fragment from tympanum of the church of Cabestany (Catalonia) R the Assumption XIIth cent 337/ Adulteress with the skull of her lover Detail from Last Judgement Cathedral of St James of Compostela 338/ Oviedo Camara Santa Sts Peter and Paul XIIth cent 339/ Salamanca Apse and cupola of the old cathedral 340/ Canopy in the cupola of the old cathedral at Salamanca (cf no 339) 341/ Doubting Thomas Bas relief in the cloisters of the abbey of Santo Domingo at Silos Ca 1100 (?) *Though entirely dependent on Southern France the vigour of Spanish Romanesque architecture and sculpture is always striking* [cf maps 20 and 21]



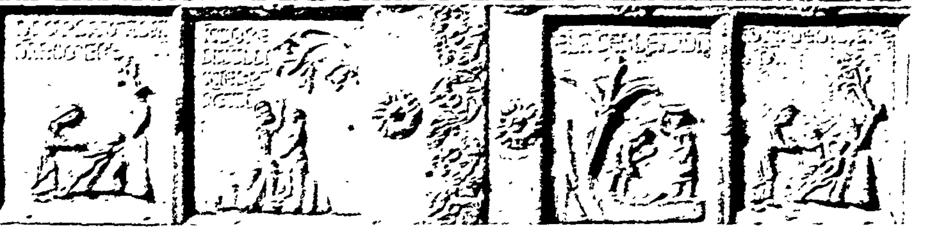


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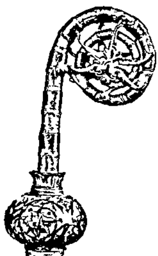
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342 The Cathedral of Spires, eastern elevation. Commenced 1030, rebuilt and completed 1100–1106. 343 Mainz, Cathedral. 344 Soest, Cathedral. Choir with mural of 1166. 345 *The Women at the Tomb and the Disciples at Emmaus. Antiphonary of St. Peter, Salzburg. Ca. 1150.* Vienna, Nationalbibliothek. 346 St. Matthew. *Ivory from bookbinding in the Archiepiscopal Museum, Utrecht. Early XIIth cent.* 347 Portable altar from Stavelot with allegorical scenes from the Old and New Testaments. XIth cent. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. 348 Chalice of Berthold of Andechs, from Wilten. Example of niello-work. XIIth cent. 349 Monreale, near Palermo. Detail from bronze door of abbey church: l. to r., the creation of Adam, Adam and Eve ordered to work 'by the sweat of their brow', Adam and Eve at work, the creation of Eve. [cf. maps 20 and 21]





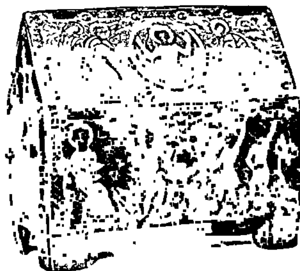


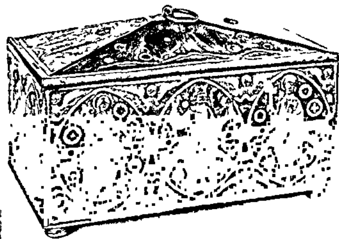
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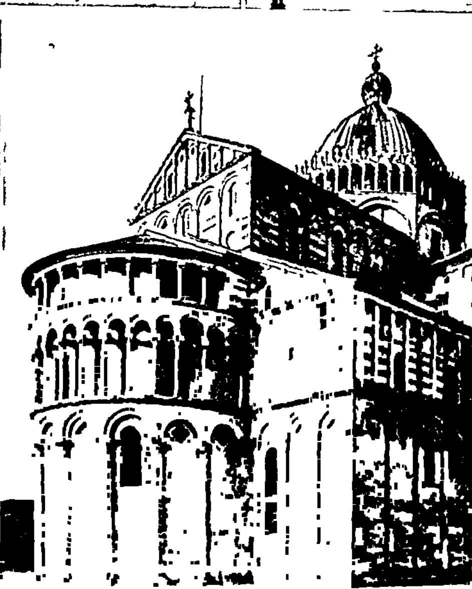
350/ Head of an apostle from the shrine of St Eleutherius Tournai Cathedral 1248 351/ Crozier Limoges enamel ca. 1200 Poitiers 352/ Detail from font of Renier de

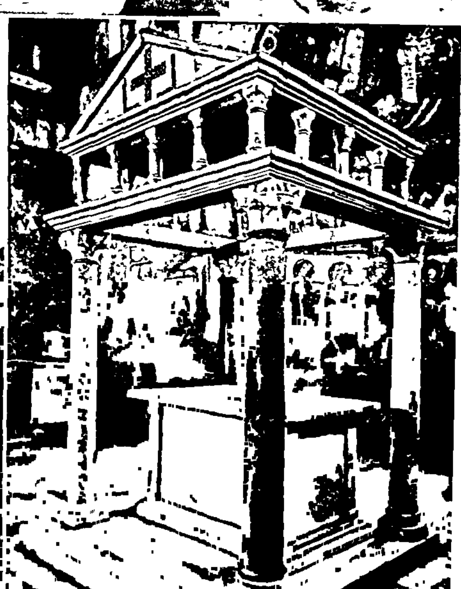




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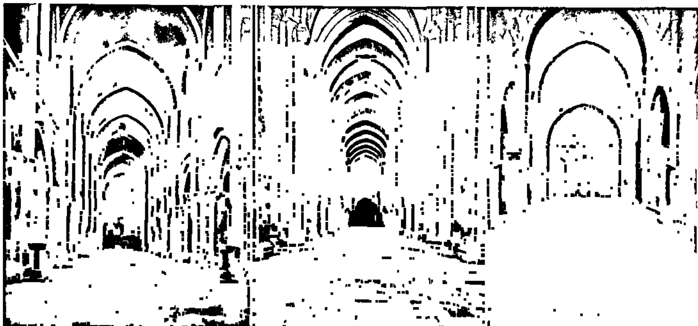
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358/ San Zeno, Verona. Choir and entrance to colonnaded crypt. *Example of a sober unvaulted Lombard basilica of the XIIth cent.* 359/ Cefalù (Sicily). Front of the cathedral. *One of the Norman-Arabic-Byzantine monuments of the island. XIIth cent.* (for apsidal mosaics cf. no. 115). 360/ Ravello, S. Giovanni Evangelista. Ambo, early XIIIth cent. 361/ Pisa Cathedral, eastern elevation. *The masterpiece of a regional architectural school of Sardinia and part of Tuscany.* 362/ Castel Sant'Elia. Altar and ciborium (canopy) *in the XIth cent. abbey church.* 363/ The Creation of Eve. Fresco in S. Pietro, Ferentillo (near Spoleto). XIth cent. 364/ The Last Judgement. Detail of an icon from a Roman convent. A little after 1000. The Vatican Pinakothek.



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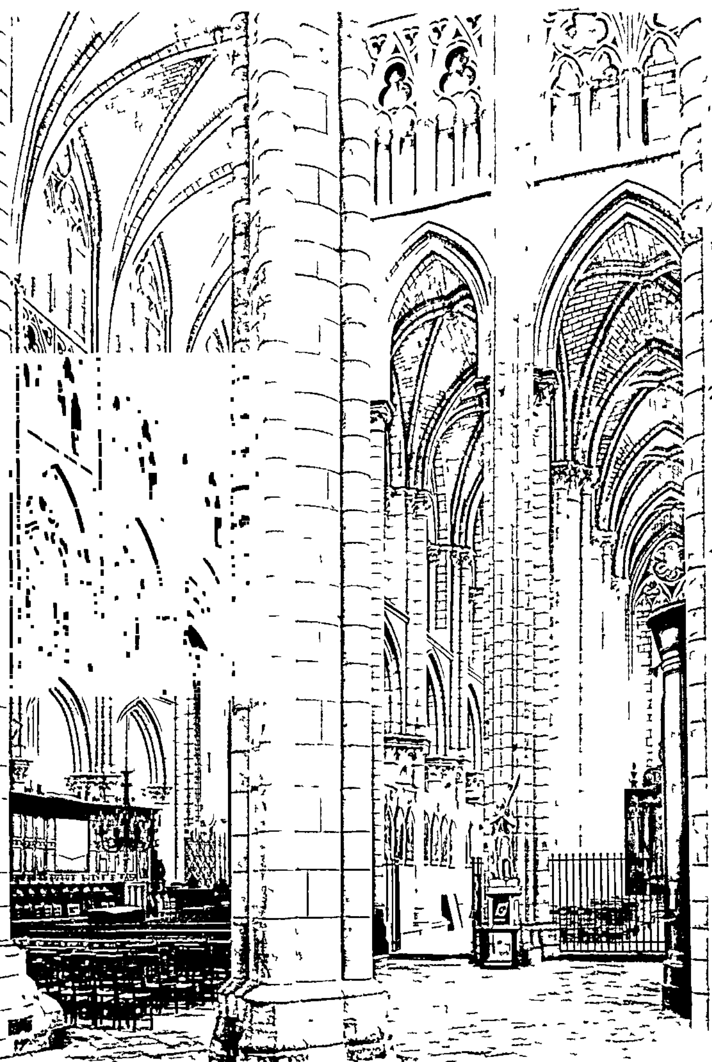


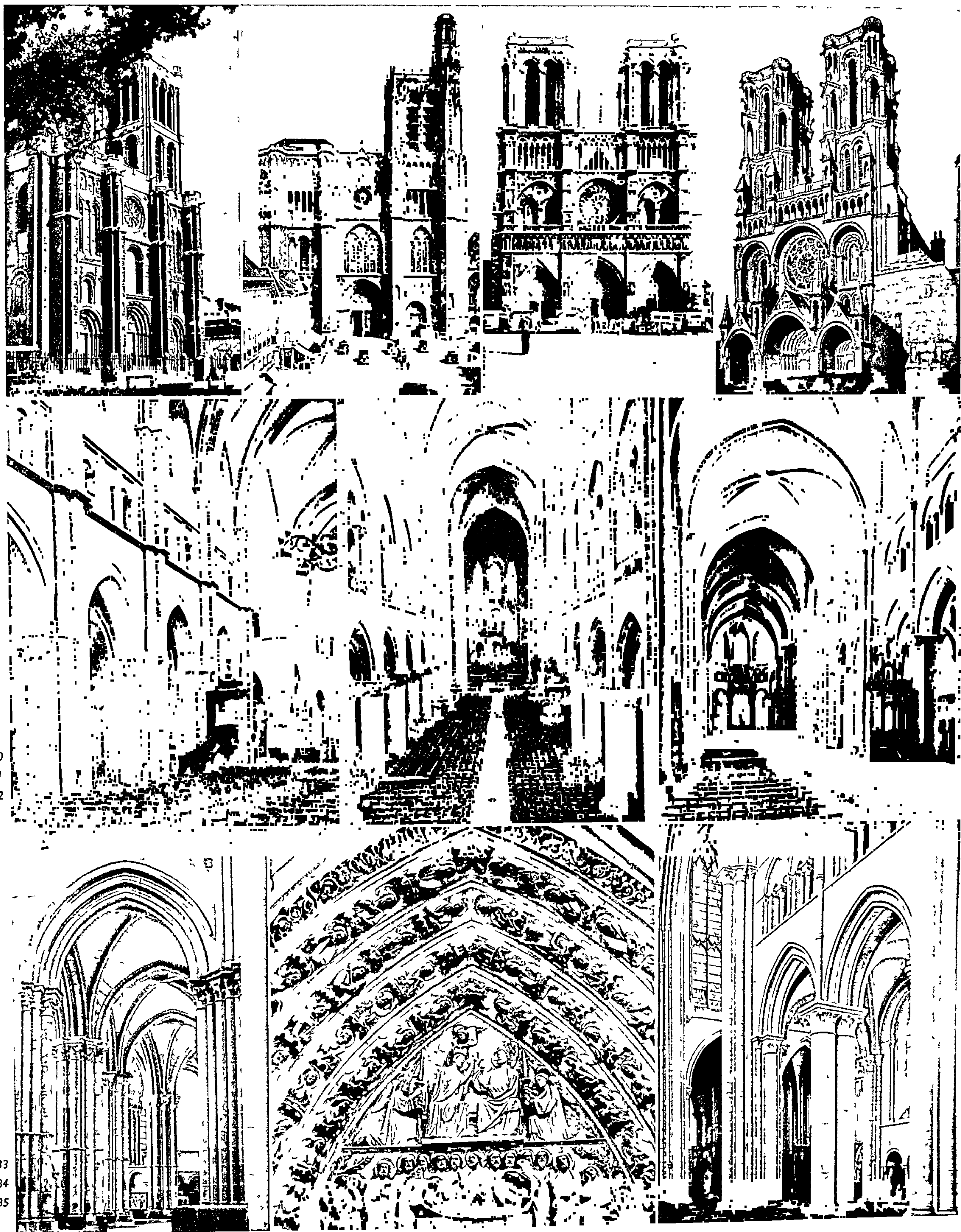
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transept 2nd quarter XVIth cent till 1560

[cf map 23]

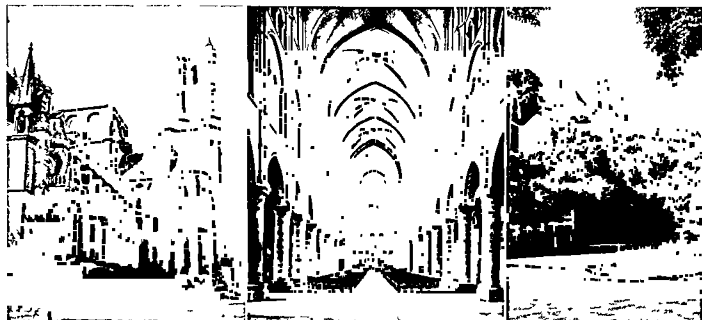






376/ Saint-Denis Façade by Suger, ca 1140 (the tower on the left was destroyed 1847). **377/** Sens, Cathedral Façade XIIth cent., rebuilt XIVth cent., tower added XVIth cent. **378/** Paris, Notre-Dame, west front Before 1200. **379/** Laon, Cathedral, west front, late XIIth cent. **380/** Langres, Cathedral. Begun ca 1170 on the model of the 3rd church of Cluny. **381/** Paris, Notre-Dame. Begun 1163 (Clerestory rebuilt, six-fold vaulting) **382/** Sens, Cathedral, begun shortly after 1130 (Apart from the six-fold vaulting this is the first completely 'Gothic' nave.) **383/** Vezelay, abbey church. Ambulatory, late XIIth cent. **384/** Paris, Notre-Dame, west front Tympanum of left portal· Our Lady laid to rest and crowned in Heaven **385/** Sens, Cathedral. Pillars of the nave, near the crossing. Between 1130 and 1163. Preceding page **375/** Meaux, cathedral of St-Etienne. Beginning of the choir, XIIth cent.

[cf. map 24]


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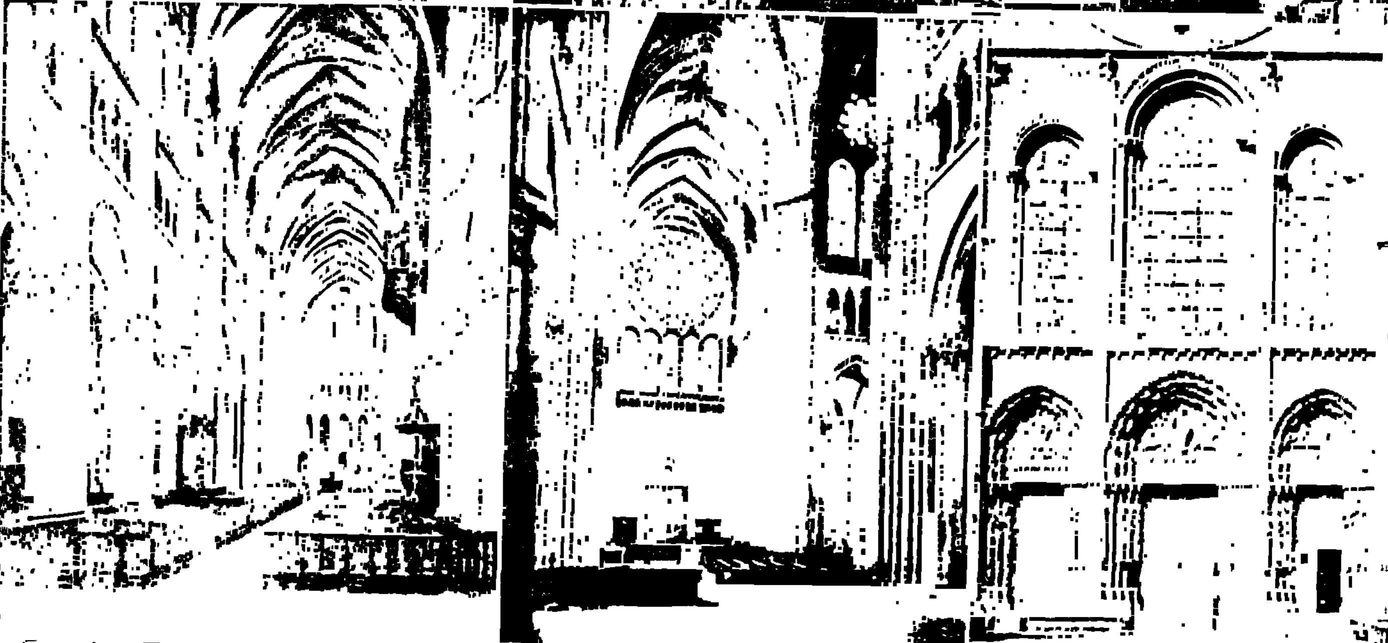

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Despite its conservative architectural features (e.g. the six fold vaulting) the Cathedral of Laon is the masterpiece of the late XII [illegible] *burg and Bamberg. It is also imitated in certain details in France e.g. in Chartres.* 386/ Choir enlarged XIIIth cent. 387 [illegible] transept 390 391/ Interior of the tribune 392/ Window in the choir the Legend of Theophilus (who sold [illegible] window with Our Lady crowned in Glory



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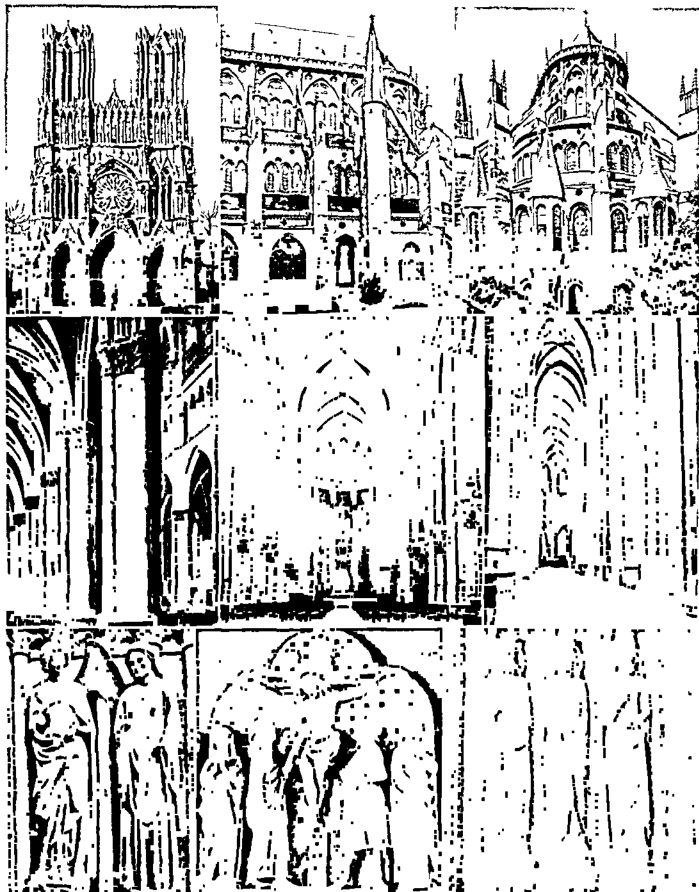
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The Cathedral of Chartres is France's principal shrine to the Mother of God (relics of her skirt and veil are venerated there). After the fire of 1194 it was completely rebuilt between 1195-1220, with 170 windows and thousands of statues. It is the first classical Gothic church. **395/** South transept; the chapel l. is XVth cent. **396/** Northern elevation. The tower l. is from after 1500; the other is XIIth cent. **397/** Nave; the decoration of the choir is XVIIIth cent. **398/** Crossing and north transept. **399/** Lower portion of west front with Portail Royal (ca. 1144); the three windows are pre-1194. **400/** Detail from Portail Royal: the months of July and April. **401/** The creating Word (Logos). From the northern portico. **402/** One of Christ's forefathers, probably Solomon; from the Portail Royal.

[cf. map 24]



403/ Reims Cathedral begun 1212 404-405/ Bourges Cathedral Choir 1190 1220 masterbuilder Henry de Sully brother of Eudes masterbuilder of Notre Dame Note the double ambulatory 406/ Reims Cathedral nave 407/ Bourges interior 408/ Bourges interior of s de aisle 409/ Reims west front the Annunciation 410/ Bourges Crucifixion Fragment of jubé XIIth cent. 411/ Bourges Christ s forefathers S de portico XIIth cent *The magn ficent Cathedral of Bourges with its five naves of varying height is the model for the Cathedrals of Le Mans Coutances (no 442) and Toledo (no 467) Reims Cathedral renowned princ pally for its sculpture is the masterp ece of the arch tectural school of Champagne* [cf map 24]

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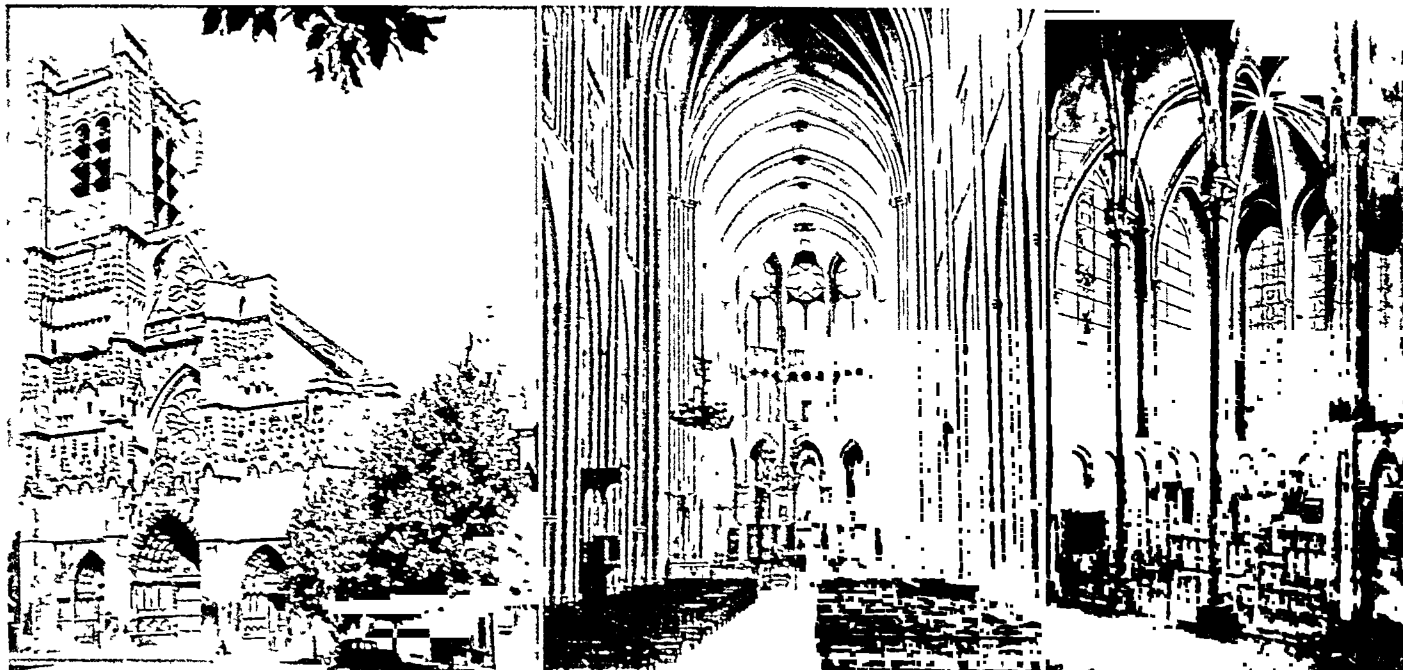
Amiens, the Parthenon of classical Gothic, is the matrix for numerous other Cathedrals, including Beauvais, Cologne, Troyes, Tournai (choir), León (Spain), Uppsala (Sweden) and Utrecht. **412/** West front. Lower portion 1220-1236, towers XIVth-XVIth cent., rose window after 1500. **413/** Nave, by Master Robert de Luzarches, 1220-1236. **414/** Choir, 1247-1270. **415/** Choir, from the east: choirstalls XVth cent., screen XVIIIth cent. **416/** Transept. **417/** Triforium and windows of the nave. **418-421/** Details from west portals. Left: the Voyage of the Magi. **419-420/** The Flight into Egypt and the fall of the idols of Heliopolis. Below: the Infant Jesus among the Doctors in the Temple and the return to Nazareth. [cf. map 24]



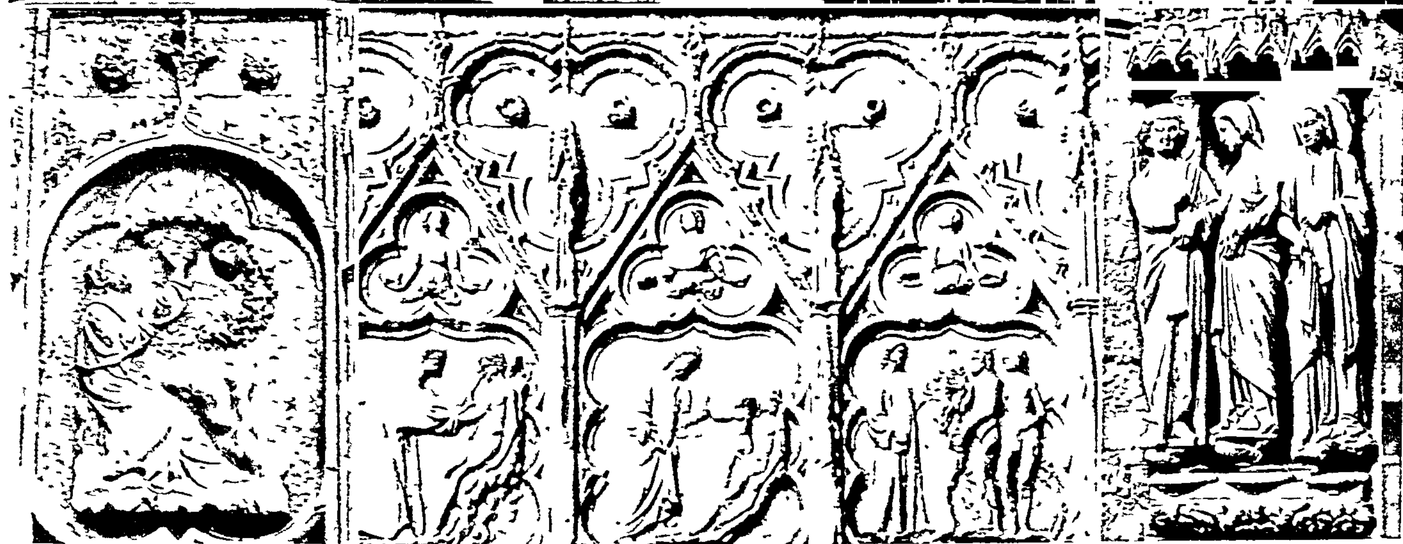




422-424/ *The choir of Beauvais Cathedral, built 1247-1272 collapsed 1284, rebuilt 1338 Height of vault 48 metres This is the technical acme of Gothic* Transept early XVIth cent 425/ Paris, Notre Dame Rose window in transept 1257 1267 426/ Strasbourg Cathedral Rose window in west front, ca 1290 427/ Carcassonne, Cathedral of St Nazaire Rose window ca 1280 428-430/ Paris, Sainte Chapelle Built by St-Louis for a relic of the Crown of Thorns brought from Constantinople 428/ One of the twelve apostles 429/ The upper chapel with altar for reliquary and the celebrated windows 430/ The Creation of Eve, detail from door of the chapel [cf map 24]



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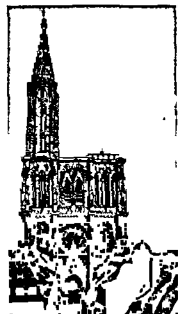


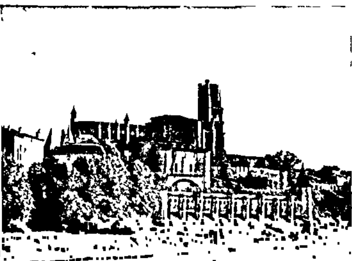
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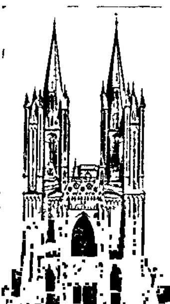


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431-435/ Auxerre, Cathedral of St-Etienne, one of the lesser monuments in the area between Champagne and Burgundy 431/ West front Portals partly XIIIth, partly XIVth cent., nave XIVth cent, tower 1539 432/ Choir (1215-1234) and nave (XIVth cent.) 433/ Side chapel in ambulatory 434-435/ Reliefs from left portal on west front the creation of the stars, the creation of Adam and Eve, original sin *An example of the light and elegant style of the early XIVth cent* 436/ The Annunciation From the portal of Villeneuve-l'Archevêque (Yonne) In the style of Reims, ca. 1270 437-439/ Mont-Saint-Michel The abbey on a rock in the sea, opposite Avranches L, the reception hall, centre, the refectory, r, the cloisters [cf map 24] *Example of an influential XIIIth cent Benedictine abbey*







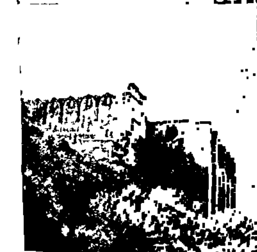
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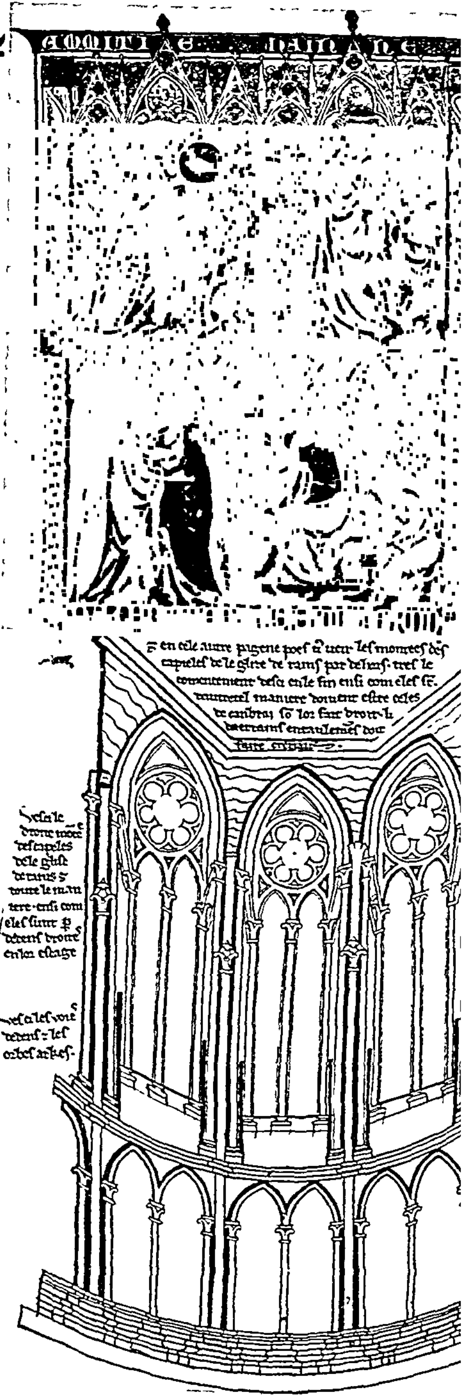
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444/ Poitiers, Cathedral Cap tals from the small northern porta X Ith cent 445/ Po tiers Cathedral 1166 1271 [illegible] 4*6 44* [illegible] aders Gothic Cyprus I the abbey of Bellapais r the former Cathedral of N cos a 448/ Templars Church Laon

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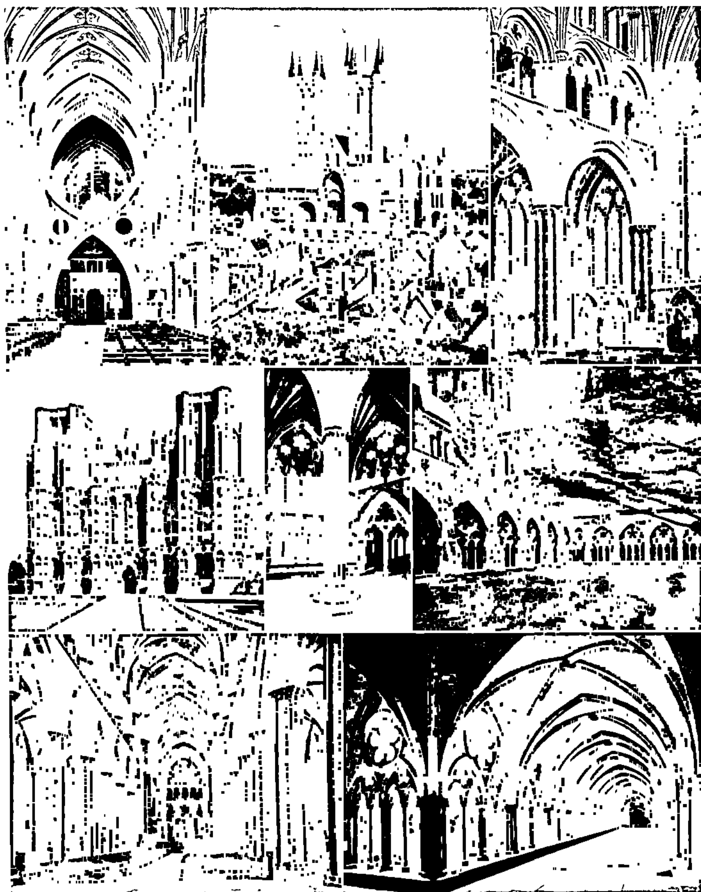
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After 1220 the free lyric style appears in the graphic arts, the early Christian and Byzantine clichés are things of the past, at least as far as France is concerned. **449/** MS. of the Roman Rose, 1353. Paris, Bibl. Nat. **450/** Page from a 'Somme le Roi', ca. 1300. British Museum. **451-452/** Two drawings from the sketchbook of the architect Villard de Honnecour 1235. Paris, Bibl. Nat. L., courtly love scene; r., design for side chapel in Reims Cathedral. **453/** Chartres, Cathedral. Detail from a window donated by the masons: the masons t selves can be seen at work on two statues. **454/** Lower portion of medallion from XIIIth cent. window in the ambulatory of Bourges Cathedral. A scene from the legend of C centius and Quiriaca. [cf. map

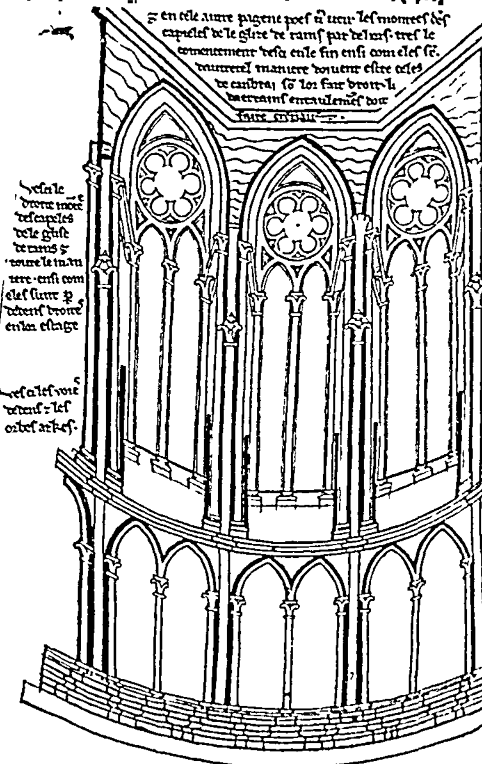


The groundplans of even the largest English cathedrals have the simplicity of design of an abbey church The vaults are not high, and the main impression is of breadth, length and the richness of decoration There are no ambulatories with side chapels and no richly sculptured portals, but they have rich chapter houses and magnificent towers 455/ Wells nave 456/ Lincoln 457/ Lincoln, Angel Choir with original stained glass Typically Early English 458/ Wells, west front 459/ Wells, Chapter House Note vaulting fanning out from central pillar 460 462/ Salisbury, the principal monument of Early English 460/ The cloisters 461/ The nave, the shafts in the triforium are of black Purbeck marble 462/ Interior of cloisters

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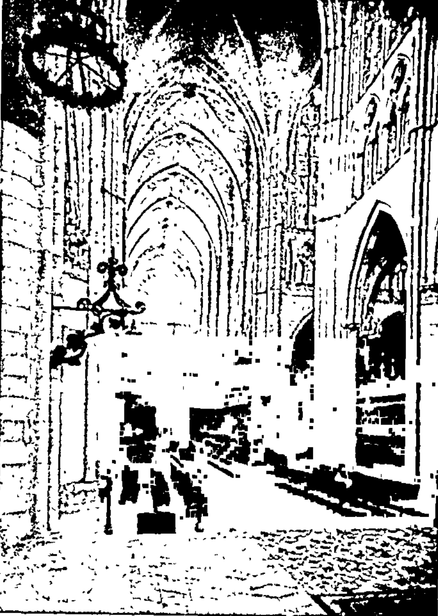
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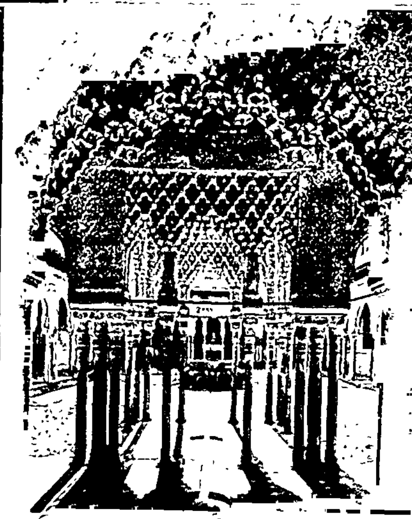


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Early Spanish Gothic is an importation from France: the three principal monuments, the Cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo and León, are derived from Bourges, Chartres and Amiens. But their interior furnishings, and especially the unique placing of the choirstalls in the centre of the nave in front of the crossing, give the Spanish churches a character of their own. **463**/ Tarragona, Cathedral. Crossing and apse. Ca. 1200. **464**/ Tarragona, Cathedral. Choir and lantern. **465**/ Cuenca, Cathedral. Ambulatory. **466**/ León, Cathedral. From the choir, looking west. **467**/ Toledo. The nave. **468**/ Burgos, Cathedral. From the choir, looking west. The rich decoration dates from the late middle ages; the church itself is an imitation of Bourges. **469**/ León, windows in nave (the original stained-glass has been entirely preserved). **470**/ A contemporary monument: the Alhambra at Granada. **471**/ Toledo, XIIIth cent. synagogue, now the church of Santa Maria la Blanca.

[cf. map 24]



German Gothic begins sixty years after the French its most original feature are the great brick churches on the plains of northern Germany 472/ Trier, Liebfrauen a double of the little church of St Yved at Braisne 473/ Cologne, Cathedral, choir begun 1248 Copied from Amiens and Beauvais 474/ St Elisabeth, Marburg One of the earliest and most beautiful 'Hallenkirchen (with three naves of equal height) Begun 1235 related to Poitiers Cathedral 475/ Paderborn Cathedral A 'Hallenkirche, also related to Poitiers 476-477/ Munster, Cathedral *Externally* this has all the features of heavy Romanesque internally the church has low, cupola forming vaults derived from those of Anjou 478-480/ Three brick churches in Mecklenburg 478/ Wismar, Georgenkirche 479/ Wismar, Marienkirche (partly XIVth cent.), 480/ Doberan, Cistercian church with ambulatory and side c [cf map 24]





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481/ Naumburg, Cathedral Ekkehard and Uta, portraits of the founders, in the western choir *Masterpieces of expressive realism in XIIIth cent. Germany*. 1250-1260 482/ The Crowning of Our Lady Tympanum in side portal of Strasburg Cathedral 1220-1230 483, 485/ Details of no 481 484/ Mainz Cathedral, fragment of *jube* (Lettner) the Damned Mainz, Cathedral Museum 486/ The Year, between Day and Night, Sun and Moon, and the Four Seasons Frontispiece to the 'Liber Floridus' from the Monastery of St Florian, Austria. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 487/ Naumburg, Cathedral, St John standing beneath the Cross Detail from *jube* 488/ Jacob's Ladder and the Anointing of the stone of Bethel From a XIIIth cent antiphonary at St Peter, Salzburg

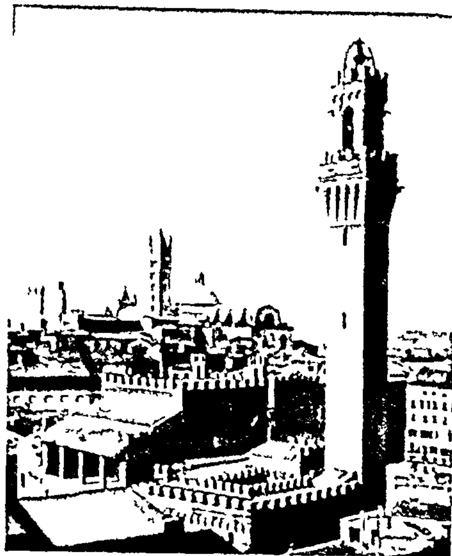
[cf map 24]

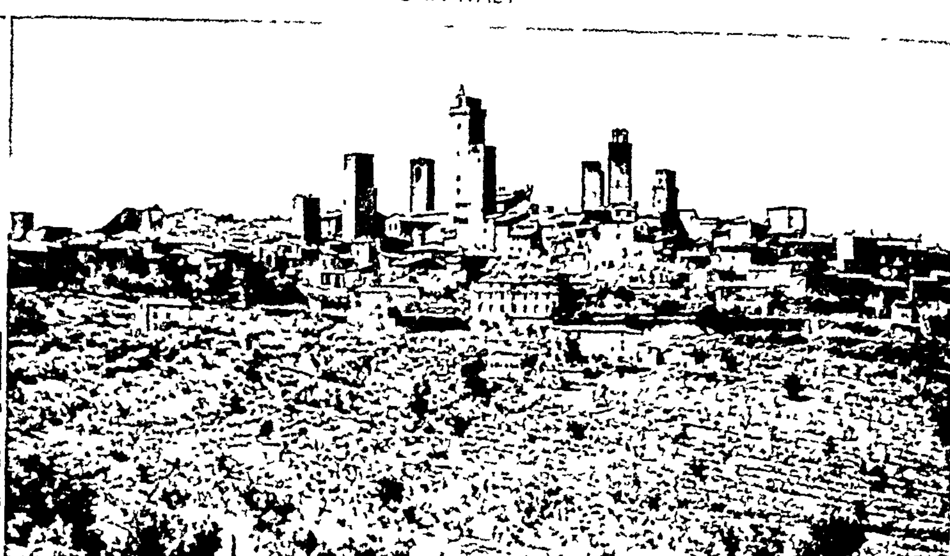


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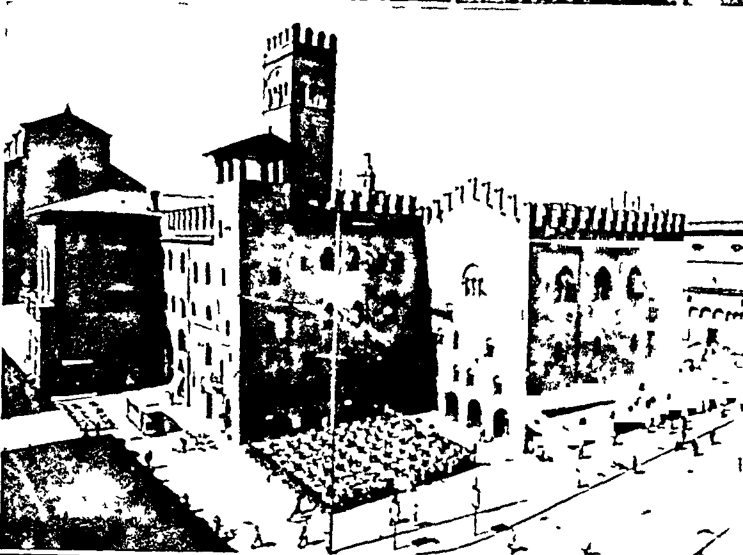
489/ Utrecht, Cathedral choir Related to Tournai and Soissons, and thus indirectly to Amiens and Cologne Begun 1245, the bays in foreground are XVth cent 490/ Virgin and Child, statue venerated at Bolsward in Friesland (Our Lady of the Seven Dolours) Probably XIIIth cent 491/ Doberan, Mecklenburg Choir of Cistercian church (cf no 480) altar ca 1300 492/ Maastricht south portal of St Servaas The Virgin laid to rest and crowned in Heaven 493/ Apse of the church at Bozum, Friesland In cupola, XIIIth cent fresco of Christ in His Majesty 494-495/ Tournai, Cathedral shrine of St Eleutherius 1248 496/ Maastricht, St Servaas Reliquary of St Servatius, one of the masterpieces of the circle of Godefroid de Claire ca 1160 *Eighty years separate the shrines of Tournai and Maastricht the 'Gothic revolution' lies between* [cf map 24]

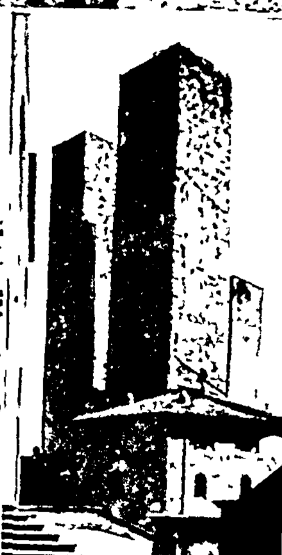
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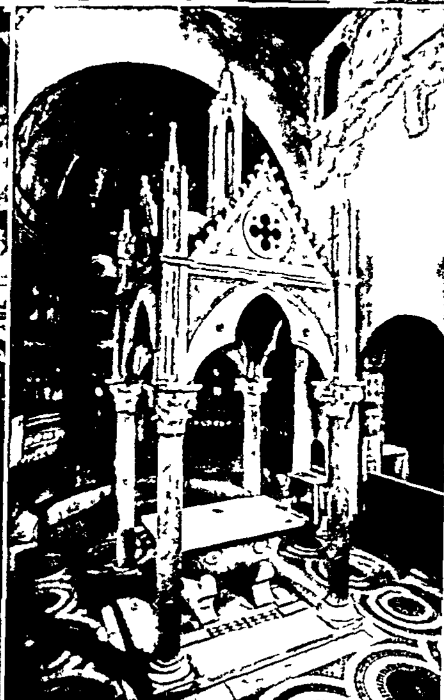


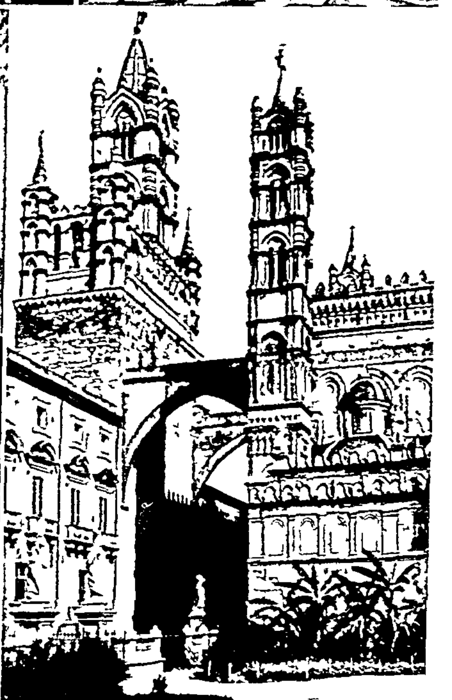




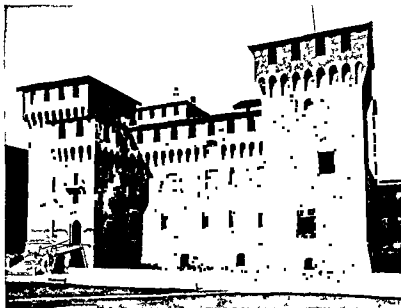
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In the XIIIth cent, too, Italy, the land of Innocent III, Thomas Aquinas, St Francis, Dante and Giotto remained true to herself The characteristic feature is neither French Gothic nor northern feudalism, but the cities In fact the city-culture of late antiquity was never wholly lost 497/ Siena R, the Palazzo Pubblico, l, the cathedral 498/ San Gimignano, which still possesses nineteen towers of the town houses of the nobility 499/ Bologna, palaces in front of San Petronio 500/ San Gimignano, the 'Torri Salvucci 501/ Verona, Cathedral Example of simplified Italian Gothic 502/ San Galgano, near Siena Ruins of Cistercian abbey, French Gothic, XIIIth cent 503/ Rome Sta Maria in Cosmedin Ciborium (canopy over altar), and mosaic pavement of Adeodato Cosma In the old VIIIth-XIth cent church 504/ Palermo, Cathedral Bell towers [cf map 24]



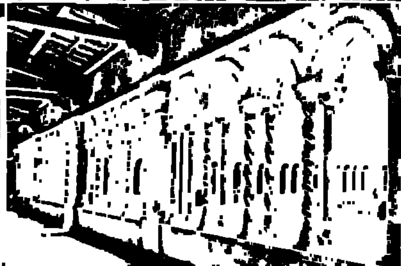






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505/ Mantua Castello d S Giorgio XIVth cent w ng of the ducal palace By Bartol no da Novara *example of r ch pre-Rena ssance se gneur al palace* 506/ San G m gnano (cf no



511
512
513

511/ Boniface VIII proclaims the Holy Year of 1300. Fresco in St. John Lateran. 512/ The great founders of the religious orders l. to r.: St. Francis, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Romuald, kneeling, St. John of Matha (?), St. Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Verona the Martyr. St. Dominic is more to the left of the fresco, and is not included in this reproduction. Fresco by Fra Angelico, Florence, St. Mark's. 513/ St. Louis of France. Fresco by Giotto. Florence, Santa Croce [cf. maps 20-23]

THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Philosophic contemplation and lyric inspiration (in piety, architecture, sculpture and poetry) are indeed the hallmarks of the XIIth century, one of the most creative periods in human history that was no whit less important for the West than the better known and more easily appreciated XIIIth century.

The XIIth century truly manifests the birth of Europe. Mediaeval Christendom, now a secure and powerful community of free peoples, creates the early scholasticism of Chartres and Paris, the fully perfected system of Romanesque art, and the courtly vernacular love lyric, and so prepares the spiritual environment in which it was to live for centuries. The framework in which all this happened is not a totalitarian state but a hierarchy of small communities. At the centre of these appears for the first time the 'commune', an entity much more human and generous and much less aristocratic than the ancient Greek *polis* to which it succeeded but on the other hand, owing to the implicit confidence of its members in the reality of faith, much more idealistic.

The kingdom of France, more populated than her sister nations, is now the undoubted centre. What still remains today of Romanesque monuments in this fortunate land defies description (map 21). In such regions as Saintonge and Burgundy are to be found hundreds of monumental churches: each village possesses a masterpiece, great or small, often neglected to be sure, but nonetheless unmistakable. This is true, too, of most of the territories adjacent to France, except that the churches are spread over a wider area. In the XIIth century almost every region has its own architectural school and distinctive type of building. The south of France has barrel-vaulted churches with a single
303 nave and Poitou has churches with three naves of equal height. Normandy has the high unvaulted church with a tribune, Auvergne the archaic pyramidal
306–8 church and a rich choir with ambulatory and chapels, and Burgundy the high tribuneless church with clerestory, the type of the third Cluny. All these types have not yet been fully exploited when already, in the Royal Domain
376 in the Île de France where Suger was building St.-Denis and Henry the Boar
385 had begun the cathedral of Sens, there suddenly appeared within a few years the beginnings of a quite different style of architecture – 'Early Gothic'.
395–9 And by 1194, with the plan for Chartres, Gothic had already become the classic style that was to conquer the whole of the West (see inset to map 21 and cf. map 26).

Not only did the Normans put England into order, they also founded
3–580 on the other side of Christendom a half-Byzantine, half-Arabic cultural centre at Sicily, whose monuments, together with those of Venice, give the clearest picture of the mid-Byzantine provincial manner at its best (map 21 and 26).

The Pyrenees were no longer an obstacle; with her knights and her Cluniac
4–341 monks France had accomplished the spiritual conquest of the Spain of the Cid.

The immense prestige of Cluny radiated from Burgundy, but Cluny itself was outshone after 1125 by the sudden emergence of Citeaux, or rather, of the man 3
who at Citeaux entered the new strict order of Cistercians and who dominated the entire century – Bernard of Clairvaux. 5

The figure of Bernard marks the watershed of the spiritual tendencies of the age, and it is he who makes us feel that the period between 1120 and 1150 is the turning point of the Middle Ages. He himself, combining chaste asceticism with flowing lyricism, stands unquestionably for the future; so too does his antagonist Abelard, the rationalist who still wants to believe. But his other antagonist, Peter the Venerable, under whom the fame of Cluny suddenly declined, belongs to the past. We can say that the era of the traditional, conservative and strictly monastic culture that leaned on the old Christian culture is at an end, and that the modern popular and lyrical – in a word, 'Gothic' – culture has begun. Further, that the symbolic and predominantly Platonic conception of the world associated with the masters of the school of Chartres (the background, it should not be forgotten, of the wonderful cathedral) has given way to scholasticism with its concern for concreteness, realism, and cause-and-effect. After 1130 scholastic theology dominates ecclesiastical life for centuries. It is neither the Fathers nor the liturgical symbols that count, but the new teachers with their reasons and their systems.

But the lyric is liberated as well as critical and rationalistic thought. Bernard of Clairvaux created the emotional language for the limitless feeling which was now turned upon the humanity of Christ and the affective aspects of religion. His Latin is so vivid that it can be considered as the first great French prose. For their part the Provençal troubadours, Bernard of Ventadour and Bertrand de Born, and the poets of the chivalric romances, developed the idea of courtly love as the secular antithesis to Bernardine mysticism. There arose that typically Western theme, that Antiquity had not known and that is still unfamiliar to the East, the worship of Woman, and even within the 4
sanctuary the growing reverence to Notre Dame – the Mother of God – became 4
more and more conspicuous.

The century is so rich that it is impossible even to enumerate its principal features on a single page. We think of the decorative work of the Meuse valley, of the Nibelungenlied, of Hildegard of Bingen, of Hohenstaufen architecture, 3
and of the brilliant style of the German miniaturists who owed so much to 3
Byzantine iconography. The principal feature around 1200 is the expansion of French Gothic, which went together with the spiritual hegemony of Paris. For at that moment the kingdom hitherto confined to the Île-de-France spread its influence across the whole of France, making Paris not only the capital, but also the vital centre of the country. Thus Gothic became identical with the style of the French royal house.





THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Dugento

Papal domain
Cistercian monasteries
Papal State
area of Albigensian crusade

Bergen
Oslo
Stavanger
Bremen
Cologne
Lausanne
Geneva
Salzburg
Vienna
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Padua
Subiaco
Salerno
Pamplona
Coimbra
Segovia
Córdoba
Oxford
Hereford
Canterbury
St Andrews
Glasgow



decorated

Richard Rolle m †1349 (Hampole)

Piers Ploughman

Chaucer, 1387

c nave 1291 1342

York Chapter House 1342

Beverley Minster 1320

Kenilworth

Warwick

Lincoln Angel Choir, c(1256)1320 compl

Southwell

Lutterworth Wyclif 1320 84 'Lollards'

Tewkesbury

Norwich

Gloucest

Clevedon

Bristol choir

Oxford

Oxford

Wells choir 1340 63

Lady Chapel 1330 60

c 1321 82 to chapel Guyo

Canterbury

Bradwardine

Exeter c 1280 1369

(nominalism)

36-1453 Hundred Years' War (fire arms)

48 the Black Death

58 Jacquerie

78-1409 Schism of the West

nominalism

'devotio moderna'

Geert Groote †1384

Floris Radewijnsz †1400

Jan Brinckerinck

Henar Mande 1360 1431

Brethren of the Common Life

Deventer

Gheeraert Appelmans †1335

Brigit of Holland

Kampen

Munster

Wesel

Dortmund

Halberstadt

Magdeburg

Tangermunde 1300 20

Brandenburg

Havelberg

Wilsnack

Luneburg

Hamburg

master Bertram of Minden

Lubeck

Wismar

Prenzlau 1300 20 OP

Stargard

Queen Margaret 1375 1412

Upsala

Linkoping Nils Hermansson

Vadstena 1374 transl of St Brigit

Alvastra OC

S Brigit 1303

S Catherine of Sweden & Ulf Gudmarsson

Kalmar Union 1397

of the free cities

the dominicans

the franciscans

Bruges

Tournai

Antwerp

Malines

Brussels

Groenendael

Jan Ruusbroec †1381m

Jan v Leeuwen

Amiens

Rouen & S Ouen 1319 39

Beauvais

mystics

Lisieux

Le Folgoët

Quimper

Evreux

Séez

S Denis

Paris

Meaux

Le Mans

Chartres

tapestry

Troyes

Sens

S Urbain

Toul

Metz

Oberwesel

Speyer

Heidelberg

Strasburg

Niederhaslach

Esslingen

Nantes

Angers

Tours

Auxerre

St Pere-s Vezelay

Bourges

Poitiers

Saintes

Defensor Pacis

Limoges

Eymoutiers

Bordeaux

Tauler 1300

Mulhouse

Konigsfelden

Bern

Klosterneuburg

Vienna

S Stephen's 1359 1435

Joh Kapel e 1340, fres.

Brixen (Bressanone)

Tirol

Lyons

Vienne

St Antoine

la Chaise Dieu 1343 (Clement V)

Albi

Toulouse

Carcassonne

Narbonne

Villeneuve

Franc Petrarch 1304 74

Vauclause 1327 Canzoniere

Avignon

St Maximin

Milan

cath 1387

Certosa

Pavia

Verona

Padua

Pietro d'Abano

Venice

Frari

Ravenna

Bologna

S Petronio 1388

Florence

Palazzo Vecchio

S Croce 1295

S M del Fiore (cath)

Dante Alighieri †1321, 13.4 20 Divina Commedia

Genoa

Pisa

Siena

trecento

Arezzo

1304 Petrarch

S Catherine OP m 1347 1380

Orvieto cath

Viterbo

Rome

Naples

Castel Nuovo (sala dei Baroni)

Boccaccio 1313 75

1302 Dante banished

León

Burgos

Vitoria

Laguardia

Pamplona

S M de los Reyes

Salamanca

C vieja fresc (1260±)

Batalha 1385 comm cl

Gerona

Barcelona

1298 beg., S M del Mar 1329 83

Tarragona

Tortosa

Toledo

Cuenca

Valencia

Puerta de los Apostoles 1360

Palma

Puerta del Mar 1380

Córdoba

Seville

S Ana of Triana

S Marina

S Paula

Granada

1308 77 'Babylon an capt vity'

Papal palace 1334-62, fresc

Célestins, S Didier, S Pierre

S Symphorien

1339 Simone Martini

Mattheo d Giovanetti da Viterbo

1378 1409 Schism of the West

Simone Martini

Ambrogio Lorenzetti

Pietro Lorenzetti

Barna

Bartolo d Fredi

Lippo Memmi

S Domenico

Filippo Rosuti

S M sopra Minerva OP (1280 1453)

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Trecento

Holy Roman Empire

France

England

other Christian countries

m mystics

stained glass

51
5
5

514-516/ Details from the façade of Orvieto Cathedral XIVth cent Cain and Abel the creation of Eve Christ appears to S Mary Magdalene [cf maps 24 27]

GOTHIC CIVILIZATION

The homogeneous and wholly Western civilization of the XIIIth century and the two following centuries that followed it has been given the name of Gothic an adjective first applied to the architecture of the period and having originally a pejorative implication The only justification for the epithet is the fact that after 1200 the passive dependence on Antiquity and the old Christian past was replaced by a new and fresh creative impulse searching for the broadest syntheses

What today impresses us most in the XIIIth century are the cathedral of classical Gothic the Parisian scholasticism of Thomas and Bonaventure the mendicant orders and the courtly poetry All these elements live on in Gothic lands predominated by the theocratic figure of Innocent III the Pope who could receive a St Francis and depose kings If we centre these elements around the opposite poles of *lyrical* and *rational* consciousness then the picture becomes clear

Anyone who thinks twice about it will realize that Gothic is not simply an architectural system based on the combination of rib-vault pointed arch and buttress as Viollet le Duc thought it in the previous century Its hallmark is the lyrical even ecstatic elevation and the deliberate creation of high transparent walls in which glazed openings triumph over the thick supports in other words a reaction in the name of sweetness and light from the heavy cubic masses of the enclosed Romanesque system and its purpose is the realization of a great liturgical idea that the Church is a sensible anticipation of the Heavenly Jerusalem To see how this was technically accomplished it is only necessary to look at the series Sens Chartres-Rheims Amiens Beauvais But the choir of Beauvais collapsed the limit was reached and after that there were only elegant and tremulous variation

In some countries such as in Spain Gothic remained purely a French importation But England went her own way after the building of Canterbury choir on the model of Sens and developed the Early English and Decorated styles In Germany there was a conservative but vigorous transitional style followed by a more made and simpler national style In Italy the Cistercians first came with the Early Burgundian then came the mendicant orders with a sort of primitive barn like Gothic while all the time the iconography and draughtsmanship in the principal centres of Siena Rome and Pisa remained more or less faithful to the Byzantine manner (For a general picture of the spread of French and regional Gothic see map 26)

The same lyrical outburst is typified by the appearance of St Francis and the ideal of poverty of the mendicants the Friars Minor the Friars Preacher Carmelites and Augustinian Hermits In contrast to the older and refined landowning monastic orders and the strict silent Cistercians (the born pioneers of the countrys de) the mendicants built their churches for preaching in the middle of the cities and began their apostolate for the common people

For the era of cities has started What began in North Italy in the XIth century and spread into the North of France now became typical for the whole of the West alongside of clergy and nobility there grew up the bonnes villes with royal privileges and with their own style of living which now became the new centres of civilized life

There was also a great change in the world of pictorial representation and of iconography The holy symbols became human situations pregnant with emotion and with a popular pathos and around 1300 Giotto discovered a mode of design extremely expressive and typically Italian which harmonized with the monumental proportions of the great fresco Chivalric poetry too with its original and gentle feeling for nature and subtle allegories belongs to this growing lyrical awareness

The rational consciousness of total reality typified at this time by the passion for classification can only be compared with that of the Athenians The XIIIth century is the period of brilliant complete and fully thought-out systems There are many those of Duns Scotus of Bonaventure and of Thomas Aquinas The latter which was afterwards to receive its magnificent embodiment in Dante's vision of the *Divina Commedia* is the most realistic of the three and 512 is in essence an Aristotelian move which an additional Christian dimension to change the metaphor raised to the higher power of Revealed Truth In Aquinas all things have their inevitable place and the Platonic denigration of everyday reality is transformed into an Aristotelian affirmation of the tangible reality in which general concepts have their basis The same connexion between idealism and naturalism explains the vivid mediaeval quality of Gothic iconography The thousands of subjects which sometimes are to be found in a single cathedral form nonetheless a unity and never clash with the architectural framework they remain as portions of a well ordered encyclopedia popular yet scholastic subtly yet naively distributed over countless portals gables windows and leaves of manuscripts From the point of sheer quantity it should be remembered that there are more than six thousand subjects Notre Dame de Chartres and the number in the Moralized Bible of the time 400 of St Louis also run into thousands

National characteristics show themselves everywhere in architecture and 45 figurative decoration In England there is calm decorum and open handed simplicity of effect in Germany an exaggerated and sometimes strained 48 preciousness as for instance in the statues of the founders of the cathedral at 430 Naumburg and in the France of St Louis and of Joinville we find figures 409 that are natural and noble but sometimes over precious The years from 1200 to 1300 are the peak of an exceptional harmony the element feelings are spontaneous simple architecture graceful and strong and generous has not yet degenerated into [illegible] But after 1300 things were different The XIVth century (map 25) is the late afternoon the sun has passed its zenith and is nothing do in the [illegible] Buildings in the cities become too elegant statues twisted and thin perched on tiny pedestals and are sheltered under tiny baldachins [illegible] figures are either too mannered or else attest to a harsh persona and deny joy of life It is not only the century of the *Canterbury Tales* Wycliffe and the *Vision of Piers Plowman* but also the century of Richard Rolle and the great German mystics

Tauler Suso and Meister Eckhart and also of the school of Siena It was 563 also the age of great disillusionment for the ideal pope and emperor had not appeared After the humiliation of Boniface VIII at Agnani the popes lived in 5 exile in the immense palace of Avignon the Friars Minor saw within their own body the schism of the Spirituals and soon the Great Schism was to split Christendom in two and there were to be two popes Half of France was in the hand of the English and the Hundred Years War had scarcely begun when the Black Death came and decimated the intellectual élite in almost all countries The Crusades petered out and Venice became all the richer The philosophers of Paris and Oxford quarrelled over the possibility of the valid knowledge of reality and were split into two rival camps the *via antiqua* and *via moderna* and the latter the party of Ockham or nominalists who held that concepts were only words were the victors

The world of 1250 that had seemed [illegible] feelings became more intense and devout [illegible] The [illegible] the Blessed Sacrament [illegible] dramatic *exempla* and to [illegible] *Roman* or the *Vita Nuova* of Dante or the [illegible] intellectuals in their [illegible] (the most beautiful [illegible] same time in the North [illegible] (churches which [illegible] Gerhard Groot [illegible] of the social groups [illegible] because after 1300 [illegible] on its past and was [illegible]



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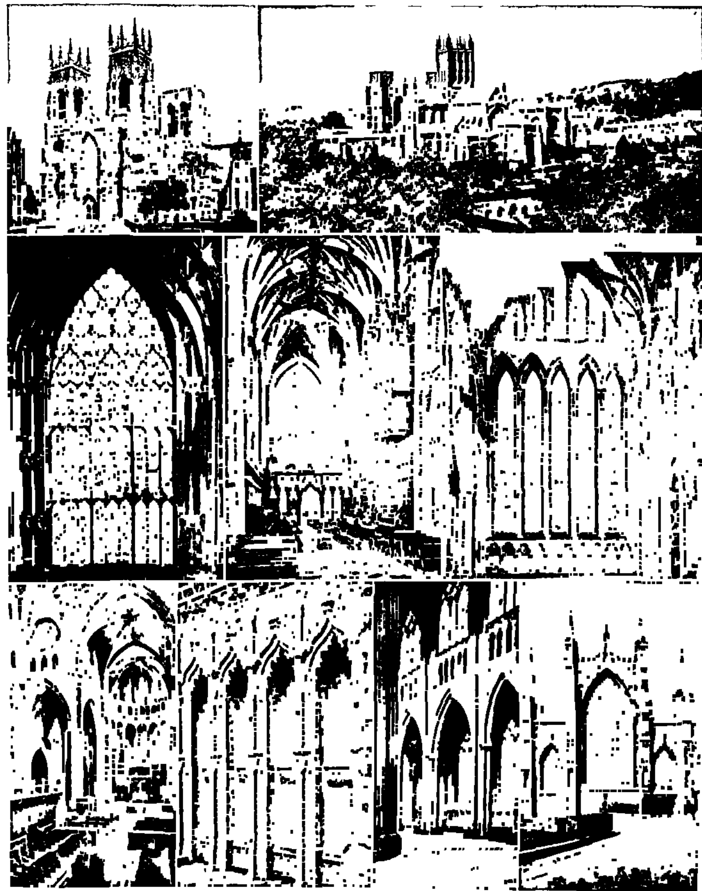


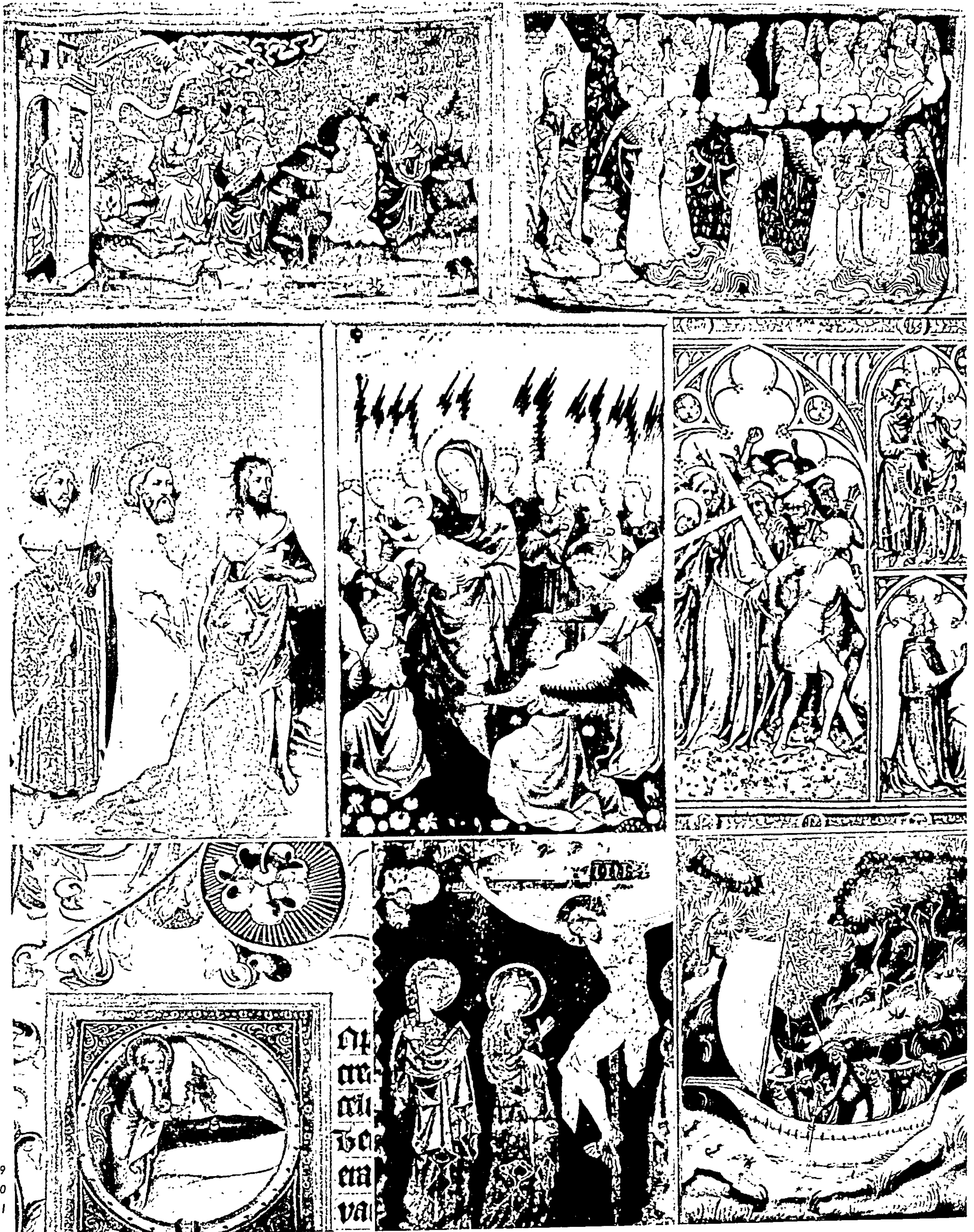
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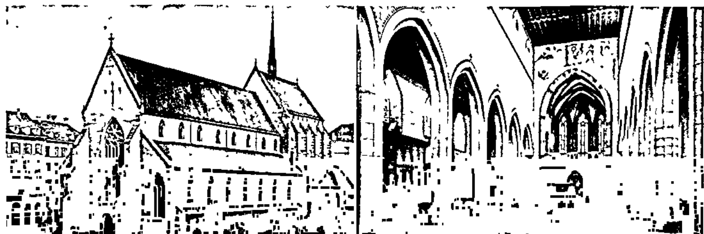
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XIVth cent. architecture is elegant, thin and light **517**/ Limoges, Cathedral Tomb of Bp Bernard de Brun **518-519**/ Troyes, Cathedral Interior and exterior of northern arm of transept, with XIVth cent rose window **520**/ Avignon, hall in the papal palace **521**/ Troyes, St. Urbain *One of the most elegant pieces of late XIIIth cent. architecture Typical of a small but rich church* **522**/ La Chaise-Dieu, near Le Puy Interior of abbey church, jube of later date **523**/ Troyes, St Urbain Window with Zacharias, Benjamin and Amos Late XIIIth cent. **524**/ Miniature from the Coronation Book of King Charles V (1365) The anointing and crowning of a sovereign were considered as sacramentalia London, British Museum **525**/ Troyes, St. Urbain Detail from window the Crucifixion [cf. map 25]





535-536/ Two of the eighty tapestries in the Cathedral of Angers devoted to the Apocalypse: l., the Merchants mourning over Babylon; r., the Harpists on the sea of glass (cf. no. 277 for Xth cent. treatment of same subject). **537/** The Wilton Diptych. King Richard II presented to the Virgin Mary by St. John the Baptist, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund king and martyr. Probably from Paris, after 1400. One of the most outstanding pieces of mediaeval art. London, National Gallery. **538/** Detail from the 'Parement de Narbonne', an antependium. L., the Way of the Cross; r. the Church, with portrait of King Charles V, the great benefactor, below. **539 & 541/** Two miniatures from the Wenceslas Bible in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp: l., the Creation; r., Solomon's fleet en route for Hiram. **540/** Utrecht, Pieterskerk. Fragment of fresco on pillar. [cf. map 25]



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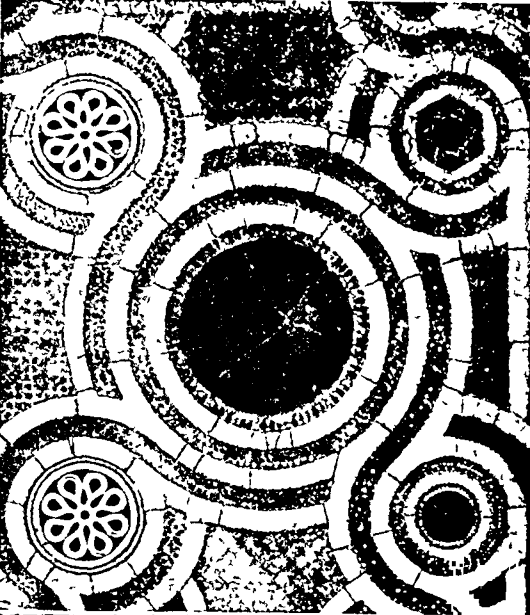
The churches of the Mendicants to be found in every town are extremely sober, with a broad nave and simple choir 542/ Church of the Discalced Friars at Basel 543/ Church of the Clarisses at Konigsfelden Aargau For the celebrated windows in the choir cf nos 547 & 549 *The XIVth cent. is the period of the German city churches simple basilicas and 'Hallenkirchen' with rich interior decorations* 544/ Soest Westphalia Wiesenkirche one of the most beautiful 'Hallenkirchen' in the land 545/ Ulm the Minster a vast city basilica, choirstalls from XVth cent 546/ Wismar, Marienkirche Southern transept XIVth cent typical example of German brick architecture 547 & 549/ Two details from the choir windows of Königsfelden, Aargau (cf no 543), l, St Francis preaching to the birds, r, the Incarnation 548/ Soest, Wiesenkirche Statues in the choir St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary [cf map 25]

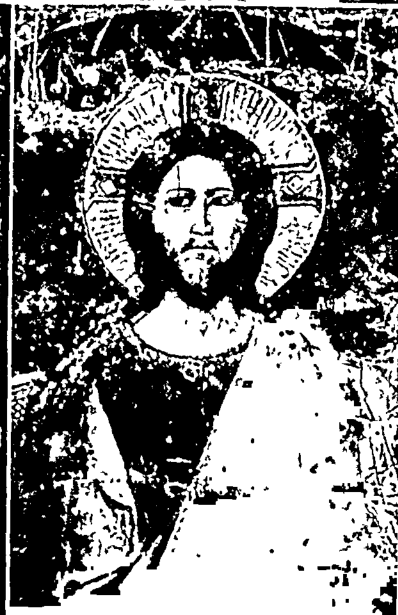






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Drawing is still wholly Byzantine during the Dugento, there is nothing nobler than the Italian figurative style just before the appearance of Giotto **550 & 552/** Two fragments from the mosaic by Jacopo Torriti OFM in the apse of Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome. *The acanthus motif is early Christian*, l, the cardinal founder, the two St Johns and St Antony of Padua, r, St Francis, Sts. Peter and Paul, and Pope Honorius III **551/** Madonna and angels, icon by Cimabue, from Florence Paris, Louvre. **553/** Detail from 'cosmatesque' floor of St John Lateran **554/** Detail from Last Judgement by *Pietro Cavallini, the immediate predecessor of Giotto In the choir of the sisters of Sta Cecilia, Rome* **555/** *Detail from the Funeral of St Francis*, by Giotto; *the natural pathos of the Italian here breaks through the formal Byzantine manner.* S Croce, Florence. **556/** Madonna, r., St. Francis. By Cimabue Assisi, upper church of St. Francis **557/** Mosaic in St Mark's, Venice; depicting the Eucharistic service in the church itself, in the presence of the Doge (DUX)

[cf. map 24]



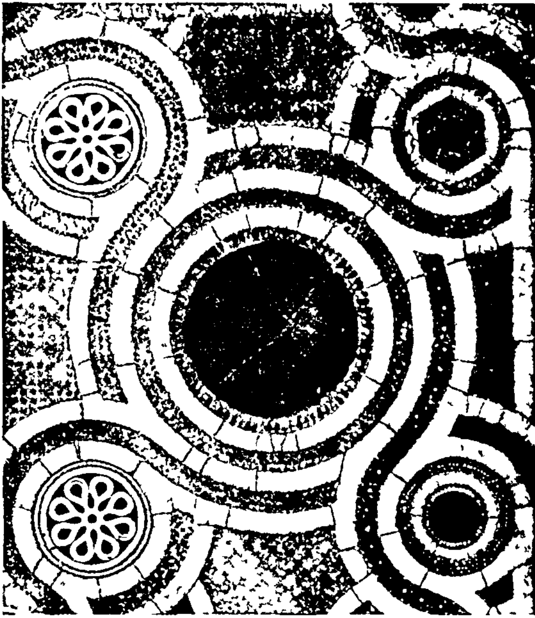
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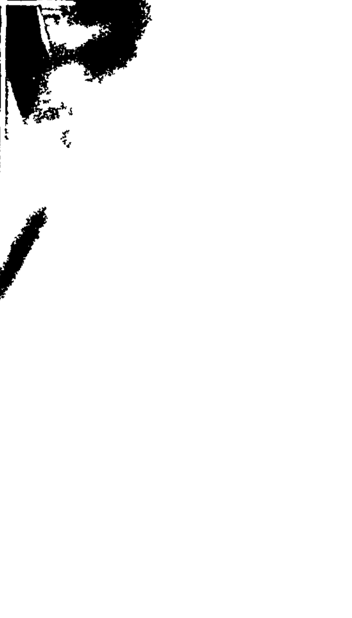
558/ M lan, Cathedral East front The church was begun in the XIVth cent and only completed in the XIXth 559/ Siena Cathedral 560/ Siena S Domenico *A typical Dominican church high broad and undecorated in fact simply a space for preaching* 561/ Florence the Cathedral *Note the colossal proport ons and simplification of the Gothic ground plan* 562/ Orvieto, Cathedral *late example of the type of the ancient basilica the Gothic details are purely decorative In contrast with the churches of Northern Europe this type has large expanses of wall space decorated with frescoes and little stained glass* 563 563a/ Two works from the school of Siena l, St Dominic, by Simone Martini, r, Madonna by Lippo Memmi Both in Museo dell Opera at Orv eto 564/ St Francis on the Christmas Eve at Grecc o Fresco in the upper church at Assisi probably by Giotto Decorative details of the cho r are Trecento





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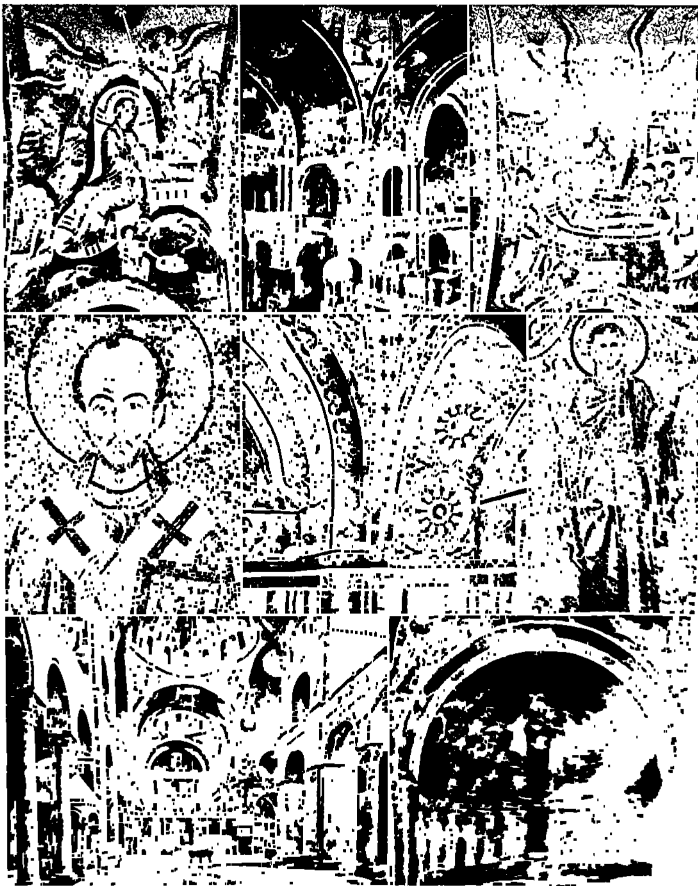


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Drawing is still wholly Byzantine during the Dugento, there is nothing
by Jacopo Torriti OFM in the apse of Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome T
Sts Peter and Paul, and Pope Honorius III **551**/ Madonna and a
554/ Detail from Last Judgement by Pietro Cavallini, the imme
by Giotto, *the natural pathos of the Italian here breaks through*
Francis **557**/ Mosaic in St Mark s, Venice, depicting the Euc



The most outstanding relics of Deutero-Byzantine art are to be found in Venice and Sicily 573/ The Incarnation [illegible]
St Mark's, Venice XIth cent., mosaics XIIth-XVIth cent 575/ The Assumption (Koimesis) Palermo [illegible]
mouth' of the Greek Church, and the Divine Liturgy bears his name 577/ Detail from Palace of [illegible]
of the 'Blacherniotissa' Ravenna, Archbp s Palace XIIth cent 579/ Venice, St Mark s A smaller [illegible]
are from the XIth-XIIIth cent 580/ Torcello near Venice Mosaic in the apse of the old cathedral [illegible]

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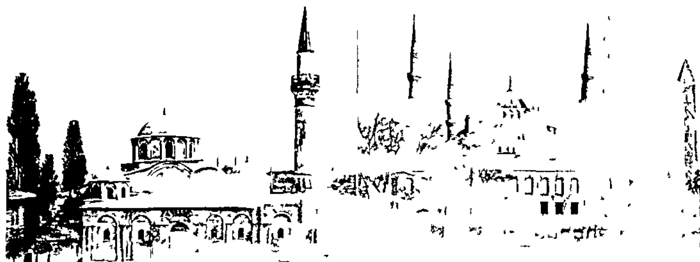
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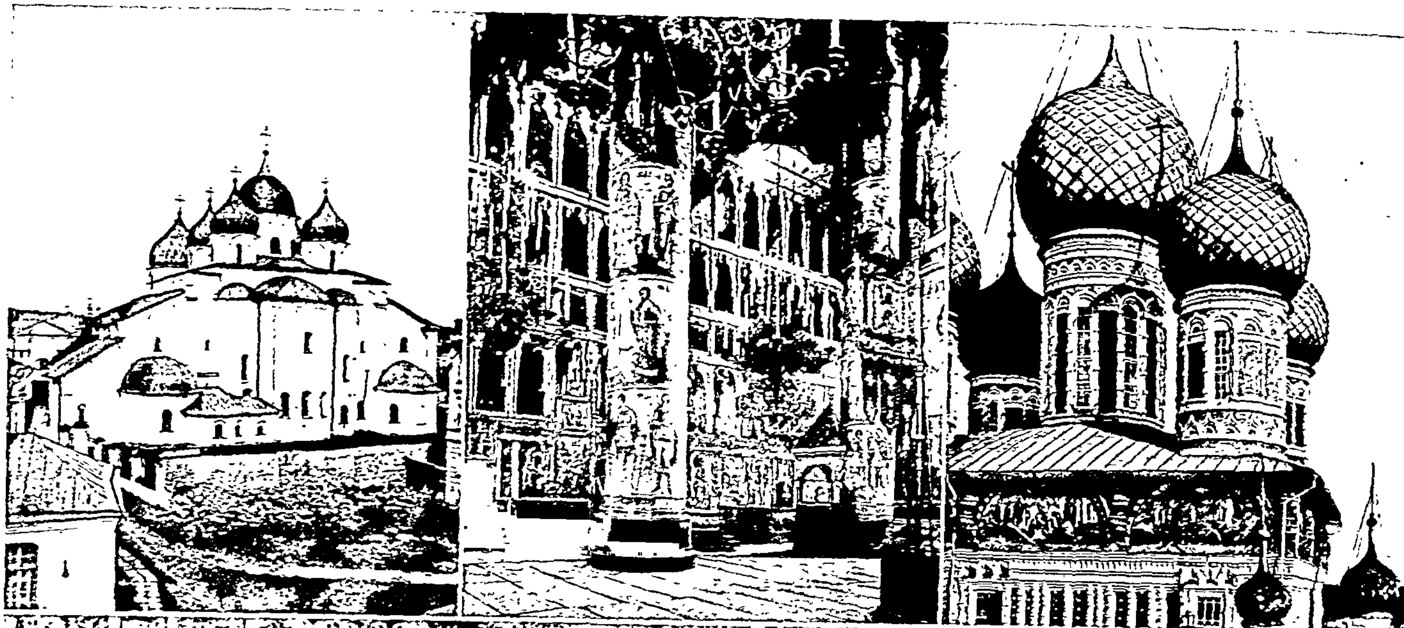
581-582/ Double icon in mosaic with the Twelve Greater Feasts. XIIIth cent. Left panel: the Annunciation, Incarnation, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration and Resurrection of Lazarus. Right panel: the Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Descent into Hell, Ascension, Pentecost and the Assumption. *These scenes are extremely delicate clichés which have gradually evolved and which do not develop further after 1200.* **583/** Sakkos (dalmatic of a metropolitan) with the Transfiguration. Rome, treasure of St. Peter. XIIIth or early XIVth cent. **584/** Mistra (near Sparta, in the Peloponnese). *The Pompei of late Byzantine art. Cruciform church with cupola, typical of the period.* **585/** Mistra, Church of Peribleptos. Fresco in apse: the Divine Liturgy celebrated by Christ and the Angels. XIIIth cent.

[cf. map 26]



586/ Kahreh Djami the former church of the monastery of Chora in Constant nople Now a mosque In the narthex a cycle of mosaics dating from 1310 1320 has been d scovered

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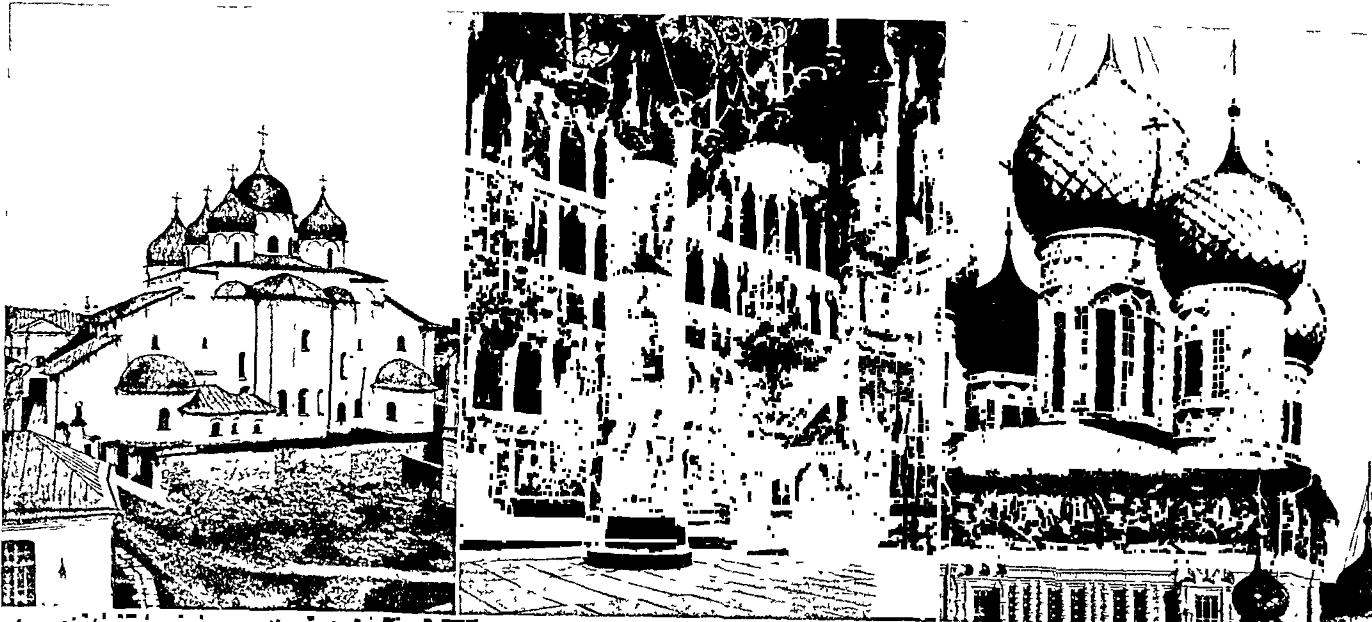


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From the XIth cent. onwards Russia was a province of Byzantine culture; after 1453 it became the centre of Orthodox religious art. 594/ Novgorod, Cathedral of Sancta Sophia. 1045-1052. *A classic model of a five-cupola church.* 595/ Moscow, the Kremlin. Cathedral of the Assumption (Ouspienski Sobor). Built by the Bolognese Aristotile Fioravente on the model of the XIIth cent. Cathedral of Vladimir. Note in the background the huge iconostasis (tiered screen with icons dividing the sanctuary from the nave). 596/ Romano-Borissogliebsk, Cathedral of the Resurrection, 1652-1670. *A typical five-cupola church from one of the Volga towns.* 597/ The three angels visiting Abraham (theophany of the Trinity). *Icon by Andrei Roubliev,* ca. 1410. Sergiev Posad, near Moscow. 598/ The Baptism of Christ. School of Novgorod, XVth cent. Vatican Pinakothek. 599/ Detail from XIIth cent. icon of St. Nicholas, from the

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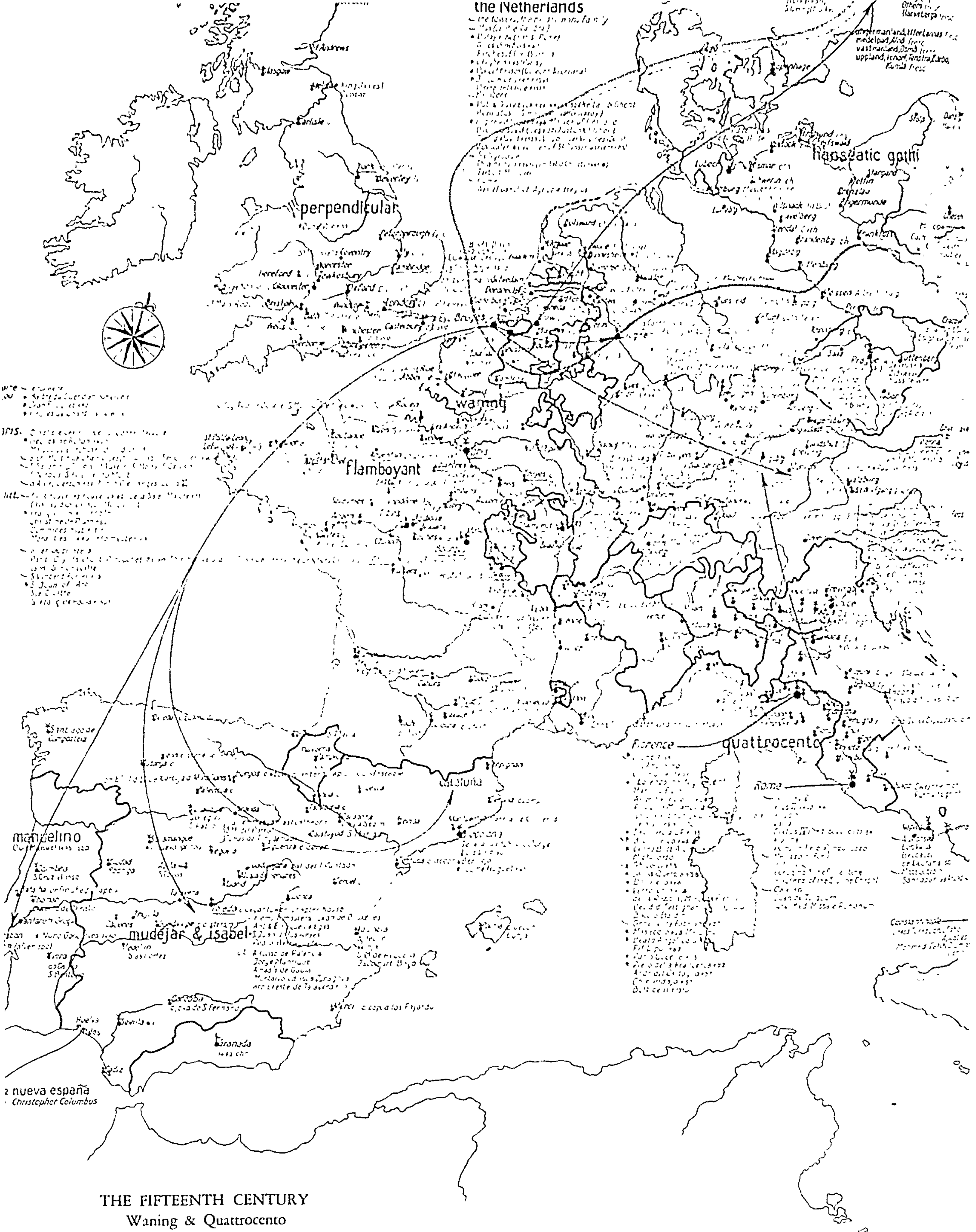
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From the XIth cent. onwards Russia was a province of Byzantine culture, after 1453 it became the centre of Orthodox religious art. **594/** Novgorod, Cathedral of Sancta Sophia. 1045- *A classic model of a five-cupola church.* **595/** Moscow, the Kremlin. Cathedral of the Assumption (Ouspienski Sobor). Built by the Bolognese Aristotile Fioravente on the model XIIth cent. Cathedral of Vladimir. Note in the background the huge iconostasis (tiered screen with icons dividing the sanctuary from the nave). *596/* Romano-Borissoglieb.' dral of the Resurrection, 1652-1670. *A typical five-cupola church from one of the Volga towns.* **597/** The three angels visiting Abraham (theophany of the Trinity). Icon by Andre. ca. 1410. Sergiev Posad, near Moscow. **598/** The Baptism of Christ. School of Novgorod, XVth cent. Vatican Pinakothek. **599/** Detail from XIIth cent. icon of St. Nicho'-



THE WORLD OF GOTHIC AND BYZANTINE ART
ca. 1130-1530 (1600)
english gothic
brick gothic
"hallenkirchen"
flowing tracery
cathedral design of northern France
Paris
Chartres
Bourges
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Rome
Constantinople
Trondheim
Bergen
Moscow
Chernigov
Kursk
Naples
Palermo
Granada
Toledo
Burgos



THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
Waning & Quattrocento
1400-1530 1400-1500

the Burgundian State
France
Portugal
German Emp
Venetian Republic
other Christian countries
territory of the Hanseatic Towns

in Spain m mudéjar
stained glass place-name underlined
print = printer
Fv = fan vaults

1:9.000.000

0 100 200 300 400 500 km

606/ Canterbury cathedral from SW nave 1378-1411 lantern 1495-1503 ...
g ve an idea of the average 15th cent parish church 607/ Sal sbury (W...
1500 609/ Stoke by Hartland (Devon) roodscreen from East, about ...
(by Nich Stone 1586-1647) 611/ Warw ck St Mary s, Lady Chapel, ...
Dudley (607-611 Courtesy to photographer Mr Edwin Smith ...
College Chapel nave Founded w th the College by Henry ...
Humphrey s Library founded 1445-1488, rebu lt 1597

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614/ Haddon Hall, Rowsley (Derbyshire), a perfectly preserved manor house with buildings ranging from 1170 to 1567 within a XIIth-century enclosing wall, on a wooded hillside. 615/ Compton Wynyates, Banbury (Warwickshire). A typical early Tudor Home, rebuilt by William Compton, under Henry VIII, turreted brick walls, large glass windows. The moat filled in, the house now set in an old English garden. (614-615 Courtesy to Country Life Ltd., London, publisher of „English Country Houses open to the public".) [cf. map 27]

Gothic the treatment of space becomes simplified but ornament becomes more complicated bending and twisting like tongues of fire hence the name Flamboyant The French achievement in openwork vaulting and elaborately figured balustrades could not be equalled in Italy It is therefore not surprising that this same type of sculptural craftsmanship remained even after 1500 and that to this period belong some of its finest works In the mausoleum
6 church of Brou in the transepts and gables of Sens Troyes and Beauvais
2 and in the Spanish cathedrals of Seville Salamanca and Segovia Gothic bids its last farewell

4 English Perpendicular which began after 1350 changes the church nave
5 into a cage of glass with perpendicular trellis work and with fan vaults dovetailing into one another The German Hallenkirche or church with equal
6 naves is a vast hall with thin pillars supporting an immense network of vaulting spread over three or five naves In these vast hangars the one dominating feature are the colossal wing shaped altarpieces with their pannelling crowded with bustling but nonetheless impressive figures In the Netherlands after 1400 there comes a reaction to the visionary style of the XIVth century In the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* the work of the brothers Van Limburg we see at once the perfect rendering of the autumnal atmosphere of a forest with the silhouette of the city of Bourges towering up above the hills on the
1 skyline Then come the altarpieces of Jan van Eyck where a thousand different things combine together in rich colourful reality and a wonderful light binds all into a unified composition Van Eyck dares everything – raindrops on flowers the hairs of fur the sheen of copper or light peeping through reeds His colours are mixed in oil and no longer in egg white as in the matt tempera technique of the ancients and the Italians but his compositions still follow the old Gothic pattern The increase or decrease of size has no effect on them and though sometimes it seems that the landscape or interior appear to have been painted around them the stiff figures do not disturb the mood It is no wonder that this craftsmanship held spellbound contemporaries who could never equal their master After Van Eyck altarpieces were filled with minute details painted in the new technique and seeking to achieve the new effects Van Eyck s portraits such as that of the Arnolfini are among the most realistic and the most beautiful ever painted If we compare his great compositions like the Altar of the Lamb and the enthroned Virgins surrounded by founders with the work of the Italians then we can see at once that his works are really visualized rather than scientifically arranged and calculated What marks him out together with all the great Primitives who followed him is intimacy quiet inner contemplation and peace – a peace that passes all understanding They share with the southern masters richness expressiveness and good observation But all the brocade curls and jewels do not matter The figures themselves remain unearthly their faces filled with solicitude for holiness of soul and the supra real elements shine forth as pious symbols testifying to the hidden richness and significance of all creation (It is interesting to compare the work of Van Eyck with that of his exact contemporary Andrew Roublev the icon painter at the monastery of the Trinity near
97 Moscow the young man who in 1410 painted the purely abstract Trinity a much greater achievement but accomplished with so much simpler means)

Jan van Eyck brought to his work a captivating attentiveness and a golden 63
light the compositions of Roger van der Weyden have a nobility and a sweeping pathos It is no wonder that we find everywhere work modelled on theirs The map shows the many centres where the Primitives came to be grouped Let us mention but a few highlights there are the Pietà of Villeneuve lès Avignon the Master of Moulins the Crowning of the Virgin of Enguerrand 63
Charonton the Master of the *Cuer d amours espris* the *Heures de Chantilly* 63
the portraits of Jean Fouquet the astonishing collection of portraits from the Portugal of Henry the Navigator to be found on the altarpiece of Nuno Gonçalves at Lisbon and the strikingly tensed figures of Jaume Huguet at 61
Barcelona In Germany local schools sprang up around individual masters but they were of short duration and did not pass on a tradition Though there is something moving and charming in their work much of it is amateurish and trifling Such a figure as the Swiss Conrad Witz is the Douanier Rousseau of the Waning Middle Ages The predominant figures are Schongauer and around 1500 the young Durer whose *Apocalypse Great* and *Lesser* 73
Passion and *Life of the Virgin* form a fine farewell to the Waning Middle Ages and alas to the German genius in the world of art for a long time to come

Early Renaissance Italy the other cultural area of the XVth century marks a striking contrast to the Waning Middle Ages Here the spiritual climate is ungothic and optimistic especially in Florence the city that was the centre of it all It is certainly true that Waning and Quattrocento were not completely separate worlds especially in the arts At a first glance and especially when we compare the two together with the simple and majestic monuments of 64
before 1500 both areas have the same taste for richness the forms are equally light and playful and there is the same tendency to prolixity The social backgrounds too are more similar than we might think In Florence as in Bruges or Nuremberg the patrons of the arts were not only the rulers and the nobility but primarily the patricians (i e the rich merchants) the humanists and even the artists themselves What gave the artist in Italy his privileged position was more often his theoretical knowledge than his practical proficiency Outside the realms of the plastic arts and of neo Latin literature the two areas were as one They still both belonged to the old undivided Christendom What kept them apart was the growing national consciousness of the Italians and the new enterprises that went with it enterprises which though startling were more often than not never brought to fruition In everything else were they united especially in their concern for the community and for the Church

At the extreme end of the XVth century a restless and crumbling mediaeval Christianity suddenly lost even the security of her limited horizon The Spaniards discovered the New World and the Portuguese the coasts of Africa and the road to the Indies (map 34) Copernicus canon of Frauenburg in faraway Ermland found that our earth is not the centre materially speaking of the cosmos The old world picture thus suddenly received another dimension and other proportions





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ca. 1460 Lisbon Museo de Arte Antiguo

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614/ Haddon Hall, Rowsley (Derbyshire), a perfectly preserved manor house with buildings ranging from 1170 to 1567 within a XIIth century enclosing wall, on a wooded hillside 615/ Compton Wynyates, Banbury (Warwickshire) A typical early Tudor Home, rebuilt by William Compton, under Henry VIII, turreted brick walls, large glass windows The moat filled in, the house now set in an old English garden (614-615 Courtesy to Country Life Ltd , London, publisher of ,,English Country Houses open to the public ') [cf map 27]

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English Perpendicular, which began after 1350, changes the church nave into a cage of glass with perpendicular trelliswork and with fan vaults dovetailing into one another. The German 'Hallenkirche' or church with equal naves, is a vast hall with thin pillars supporting an immense network of vaulting spread over three or five naves. In these vast hangars the one dominating feature are the colossal wing-shaped altarpieces with their pannelling crowded with bustling but nonetheless impressive figures. In the Netherlands after 1400 there comes a reaction to the visionary style of the XIVth century. In the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, the work of the brothers Van Limburg, we see at once the perfect rendering of the autumnal atmosphere of a forest with the silhouette of the city of Bourges towering up above the hills on the skyline. Then come the altarpieces of Jan van Eyck, where a thousand different things combine together in rich colourful reality, and a wonderful light binds all into a unified composition. Van Eyck dares everything – raindrops on flowers, the hairs of fur, the sheen of copper, or light peeping through reeds. His colours are mixed in oil and no longer in egg-white, as in the matt tempera technique of the ancients and the Italians, but his compositions still follow the old Gothic pattern. The increase or decrease of size has no effect on them, and though sometimes it seems that the landscape or interior appear to have been painted around them, the stiff figures do not disturb the mood. It is no wonder that this craftsmanship held spellbound contemporaries who could never equal their master. After Van Eyck altarpieces were filled with minute details painted in the new technique and seeking to achieve the new effects. Van Eyck's portraits, such as that of the Arnolfini, are among the most realistic and the most beautiful ever painted. If we compare his great compositions, like the Altar of the Lamb and the enthroned Virgins surrounded by founders, with the work of the Italians, then we can see at once that his works are really visualized rather than scientifically arranged and calculated. What marks him out, together with all the great Primitives who followed him, is intimacy, quiet, inner contemplation, and peace – a peace that passes all understanding. They share with the southern masters richness, expressiveness, and good observation. But all the brocade, curls and jewels do not matter. The figures themselves remain unearthly, their faces filled with solicitude for holiness of soul, and the supra-real elements shine forth as pious symbols testifying to the hidden richness and significance of all creation. It is interesting to compare the work of Van Eyck with that of his exact contemporary Andrew Roublev, the icon painter at the monastery of the Trinity near Moscow, the young man who, in 1410, painted the purely abstract Trinity [illegible]

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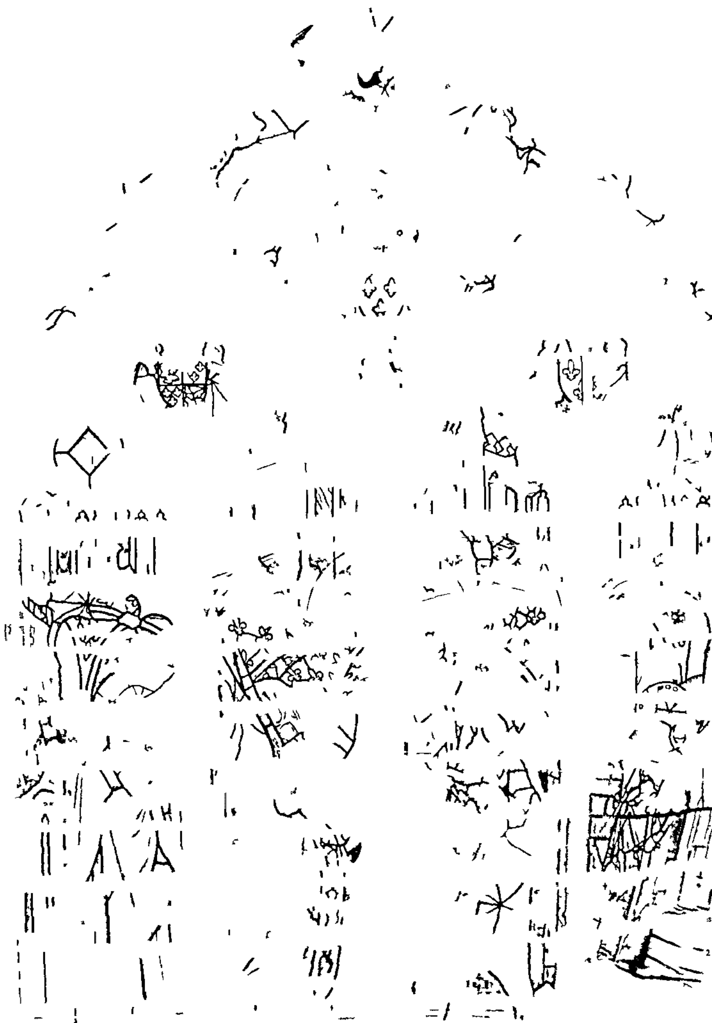
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616/ The Birth of our Lady, by the Master of the Life of Our Lady [illegible] Munich, Old Pinakothek. 617/ La Chaise-Dieu [illegible] tions are led away by their own [illegible] of the Middle Ages. Overleaf: 618/ The Veneration [illegible] by the royal family (Henry the Navigator, [illegible] and the young John II) and the court and clergy of the Cathedral of [illegible] c. 1460. Lisbon, Museo de Arte Antiga.







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Preceding page: **619**/ Window of Jacques Coeur in the Cathedral of Bourges, by Henri Mellein. 1448-1450. **620**/ Argentan (Orne), St-Germain. Side portico, flamboyant, XVth cent. **621**/ Rome, Palazzo Doria: fragment of tapestry with the Ascension of Alexander. All the figures are in contemporary court dress. French, 1459. **622**/ Troyes, west front of the Cathedral. After 1506, by Martin de Chambiges, the architect of the transepts of Sens and Beauvais. Flamboyant. **623**/ Gloucester, Cathedral. Cloisters with fan-vaulting, 1331-1412. **624**/ Gloucester, Cathedral, east window. 1377; Perpendicular. **625**/ Angers, Bishop's Palace. Fragment of tapestry: angel with instruments of the Passion. **626**/ Brou (Bourg-en-Bresse). Mausoleum of Philibert le Beau and Margaret of Austria, 1513-1532. Nave and jubé. **627**/ Albi, Cathedral, jubé. 1500, Flamboyant. **628**/ Flavigny, church. Angel, XVth cent. **629**/ Car-

[cf. maps 27]







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630/ Hubert van Eyck(?) Mass of the Dead Book of Hours of Turin (destroyed by fire 1904) 1414-1417 Note the catafalque in the cho r the wearing of hats in church and the [illegible] 631/ Our Lady in the Heavenly Jerusalem Jan van Eyck Berlin. 632/ The Arrest of Jesus Dirc Bouts Mun ch P nakothek 633/ Meml nc, John the Baptist in the [illegible] Munich Old Pinakothek 634/ Coeur and Désir at sunr se by the mag c fountain M n ature from the book of Duc René d Anjou Le Cuer d amours espr s MS. 2597 [illegible] thek Vienna. 1470-1480 635/ Deta l from Incarnation Master of Moul ns 1470 636/ Nouans (Indre-et Loire) church P età. Ascr bed to Fouquet or his circle. 1470. 637 [illegible] Rog er van der Weyden 1440-1460 The Hague Mauritshuis



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III
NATIONAL CIVILIZATIONS AND THEIR EXPANSION

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

QUATTROCENTO. The world of the Waning Middle Ages is like a blood-red and gold sunset, while that of the Italian Renaissance, its contemporary, is more like a sunny morning. The morning sun shone strongest in Florence, and next to Florence, on the city state of Venice and the small principalities of Mantua, Ferrara, Urbino and Milan. There if anywhere in the XVth century was the consciousness, not of a void left by the conclusion of an epoch, but of the passing of something absurd and the beginning of something better. There is a renewed zest for life. It was there that the new leading spirits broke with the traditional forms of thought which in their eyes had become meaningless. It was there that within a short time that world of wonderful new forms arose, and with them that new, that immediate and careful intuition of concrete reality. Such is the Italian XVth century, the Quattrocento, or as we call it, the 'Early Renaissance'.

Renaissance, the French translation of *Rinascimento*, is a generally accepted term which covers primarily a certain type of art. But it can also refer to a specifically Italian manner to which almost all West European writers and artists of the XVIth century paid homage, and which in Italy itself after 1430 formed a sharp contrast with the manner of the Waning Middle Ages, i.e. with Late Gothic and the Primitives. Finally, the term also refers to a whole way of life and a type of man.

The Renaissance is in fact one of the decisive phases in the history of our civilization. The word itself is first used by the painter Vasari in his *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti* of 1550, a book containing the biographies of the Italian artists from Giotto to Michelangelo, i.e. from 1330 to 1547. By *Rinascimento* or *Rinascita* he meant the to him miraculous rebirth of arts and letters in his fatherland, and above all, the reawakening of those unsurpassable standards of beauty of classical antiquity which had for centuries been neglected by ignorant barbarians and which had now been reformulated and brought into practice once more by a few great geniuses in Italy. What he wanted to describe, therefore, was not a new start but a revival: a lost thread had been picked up again in Italy. Between Antiquity and the Florence of the Quattrocento there lay an abyss of barbarism. In that interval Italy had played but a secondary rôle, and by 1461 that interval had been referred to by the expression *medio tempestas*, the 'middle time'. The Italians afterwards succeeded in imposing on the world this amazingly contemptuous term, and so the French have their *moyen âge*, the Germans their *Mittelalter*, and we our *Middle Ages*. It was Vasari, too, who used the expression *gotico* for the artistic activity of this 'middle time', by which he meant simply 'barbaric'.

From the distance of four and a half centuries we can easily see that the relics of Antiquity which were known at that time did not present a true picture of ancient civilization. What, in fact, *did* they know of it? Of Roman authors they certainly knew as much in 1450 as we know today. They also knew many Greek authors, especially Plato and the tragedians, and the rediscovery of Plato led to a general enthusiasm for this poet of the philosophers, and to the foundation in Florence of Marsilio Ficino's Platonic Academy.

Leading figures from the Trecento and Quattrocento. 638/ Dante (from Raphael's Disputà). 639/ Petrarch, by Andrea del Castagno. Florence, Sta. Apollonia. 640/ Boccaccio, ibid. 641/ Leone Battista Alberti. 642/ Marsilio Ficino, from Ghirlandajo's fresco in Sta. Maria Novella. 643/ Sigismondo Malatesta. Rimini, S. Francesco. 644/ Lorenzo de' Medici, by Vasari. 645/ Federigo de Montefeltre, duke of Urbino, by Piero della Francesca. [cf. maps 25 and 27]

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646/ St. James before his judges by Mantegna Padua Eremitani 1453 1459 647/ Adam and Eve driven from Paradise by Masaccio Florence, Carmine 1425 648/ Detail from the Crucifixion, in the refectory of St Mark's Florence by Fra Angelico, after 1430 649/ St Eustace and the stag, by Pisanello London, National Gallery 650/ The Queen of Sheba, Fresco in the choir of S Francesco Arezzo by Piero della Francesca, 1452 1466 651/ Bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence, by Lorenzo Ghiberti 1425-1452. 652/ Borso d Este and his court, by Cossa(?) Fresco in Palazzo Schifanoja Ferrara 1470-1480 653/ David by Donatello After 1440 654/ Detail from the bronze door of the old St Peter's Rome, 1439 1445 655/ Crowning of Our Lady, by Raphael 1503 Vatican Pinakothek

[cf maps 27-31]



656/ Florence, Cathedral of Sta. Maria del Fiore. Cupola by Brunelleschi, 1420-1434. L., the campanile by Giotto, Trecento. 657/ Mantua, S. Andrea; by Leone Battista Alberti, 1470-1482. 658/ Florence, Palazzo Rucellai; by Alberti, 1446-1451. 659/ Reception of the English Embassy; by Carpaccio. Detail from the Legend of St. Ursula. Venice, the Academy. 660/ Eolus, God of the Winds. Miniature by Liberale da Verona in an antiphonary in Siena, Cathedral. 661/ Detail from a fresco of Antichrist, in the 'Finimondo' cycle; by Luca Signorelli. Completed 1505. Orvieto, Cathedral. 662/ Detail from the Funeral of Santa Fina. Fresco in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, by Ghirlandajo, 1475. 663/ Mars and Venus; by Botticelli. London, National Gallery. Overleaf: 664/ Departure of Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Capranica for the Council of Basel; by Pinturicchio, 1503-1507. Siena, Cathedral Library.

[cf. maps 27-31







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665/ Centrepiece of the Last Judgement, by Michelangelo Rear wall of Sistine Chapel, 1534-1541 Christ returns seated on the clouds, r, the Virgin Mary, below, Sts. Laurence and Bartholomew 666 Moses, Michelangelo's masterpiece, 1506 Detail from unfinished tomb of Pope Julius II Rome, St. Peter-in-Chains. 667/ Sts. Paul and Barnabas refuse the sacrifices offered by the people of Lystra (cf Acts 14, 8-20) Tapestry woven at Brussels to a design of Raphael, 1516-1519 Rome, Vatican Pinakothek. [cf. maps 27-31]

They knew also of a number of Roman copies of Hellenistic and Hellenic sculptures, and of a relatively small amount of Roman remains, mostly from the Imperial epoch and within the City of Rome itself, and many examples of the minor arts such as coins, vases, cameos and glass work. But the authentic Greek art of Athens, the Sicilian temples, Greek minor art and all the art of the archaic period lay still beyond the ken of the Renaissance masters. It is also noticeable that the old works of art were used more as a starting point than as something to be copied with slavish enthusiasm. On the contrary, the leading spirits of the Renaissance created, with typically Italian genius, something which linked the whole mediaeval heritage with a reinterpretation of the scanty relics of Antiquity. They created something entirely original and new that had to be judged on its own terms and that in certain respects surpassed everything that had gone before.

It may not be amiss to preface a discussion of the Renaissance with some reference to the change in taste. The most valuable and the most striking elements of this Italian, indeed European, movement are the works of art. The scholarly writings of the period are only read today by specialists, and the poetry, even after 1550, by very few. But it is the beautiful and harmonious buildings, the murals, sculptures, coinage, tapestries, vases and furniture that today attract and fascinate everyone who knows of them. And the age-long overestimation of all Italian art, which has made the land of the Renaissance a veritable pleasure ground of the arts, where even the ordinary tourist can do nothing else but gaze at works of art, has only begun to diminish in recent years.

But this change of taste points as always to a deeper change, namely the disappearance of the mediaeval concept of reality and the consequent disintegration of that mediaeval world picture which was derived from Faith and from a symbolical vision of creation. The inimitable and stimulating works of art of the Renaissance express a world picture which, however pious its intentions might be as regards its sacred images, seems to us to be less authentic, more theatrical, more profane, more human, free and earthly, and more corporal than that of the Middle Ages. Behind these works of art there lay a feeling for life that was a new and liberating experience, a new attitude towards all reality and towards man as the centre of the universe, and a union of art and science that was both critical and inquisitive. These feelings, analyses and discoveries were expressed in exquisite Ciceronian Latin and printed in that clear type based on the old Roman lettering which from now on took the place of Gothic lettering in Italy (a specimen of the new lettering is to be seen no. 650). The writers and scholars of the Renaissance were the first to see their books printed and brought on to the scholarly market. Certain of the printer-publishers like Aldus Manutius in Venice and Froben in Basel themselves belonged to the scholarly circle. All of these together, laymen almost without exception, formed a sort of international guild of idealistic researchers, poets and aesthetes who, though they may have been divided in some things, were united in their distaste for the former scholastic and ecclesiastical science. They were mostly philologists and scholars and were called humanists.

What strikes us in their writings is not so much the content as the perfection of their classical Latin. Just as in Late Antiquity the whole culture tended to become identified with letters, or *bonae litterae*. Exaggerated overestimation of words and style was linked with blind admiration for Ciceronian Latin and blind prejudice against the much more living Christian Latin. The humanists of the Quattrocento have not left us any great literary masterpieces, for *The Praise of Folly* and More's *Utopia* both belong to the period after 1500. On the other hand no one doubts the greatness of the architecture and figurative art of the Renaissance. All the same, it is much more than merely an aesthetic culture. The writers, thinkers, rulers and artists of the Renaissance have in fact determined the shape of our modern Western world, so far, that is, as the élite were concerned, for the Renaissance was never a popular movement.

What *was* the Renaissance? Some people consider it as the liberation of individual creativity from the bondage of the mediaeval ecclesiastical world picture. For others it is the reanimation of the ideals, forms and conceptions of life of the Ancients. For others it is primarily a formal return to the great, the monumental and the heroic after the extravagant exhibitionism and pietistic and frivolous niceties of the Waning Middle Ages. Others concentrate on the political emancipation of states like Venice and France, and the rise of a purely realist and cynical politics, which men have called 'Machiavellian' after the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli, whose book *Il Principe* was first written in 1513. (It is to Machiavelli that we owe the term *ratio status*, reason of state.) Yet others think of the purely natural and rational Civil and Constitutional Law whose formulation at this period, especially after 1500, was most striking.

All these views are right. The period of the Renaissance is a veritable fountain of new ideas. Whoever looks at the Renaissance as a whole can only describe its essence by turning directly to what is the root of every form of civilization, in other words to its world picture. It cannot be said of the whole that in the XVth century this was less Christian. But in practice the Renaissance extolled Antiquity at the expense of Revelation. The Renaissance vision of reality was materialist and rationalist, tempered by the traditional elements of belief and morality. It marks a sort of secularization and de-symbolization of the world picture inherited from the Middle Ages.

It is only natural that the Renaissance created a dominating cultural form out of this blind admiration for the texts and monuments of the Ancients. This respect for the Ancients became so great that the custom developed of substantiating everything that was written with citations from the Ancients as well as with citations from Holy Writ (which was now being treated critically for the first time). It was not that reason had failed. On the contrary, men were rationally convinced that the norms of the Ancients were the only exact and reasonable ones. They found that what the Ancients had built, written and designed was a true norm, immediately understandable in use and in a word ideal. First at Venice and then later all over the West, the Gothic letter was replaced by the *antiqua*, based on the Roman capitals and Carolingian minuscule, because it was clearer and more beautiful. They took over the five orders, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Composite and Tuscan, for their columns, capitals and architraves because they found them well proportioned, whereas they found the slender shafts of the Gothic piers proportionless and ugly. They did not realize that the mediaeval artists had consciously and deliberately refrained from a close imitation of the natural, and they found their work clumsy. *They* would do better.

The importance given to reality did not in itself conflict with the Faith, to which XIIIth century scholasticism had already provided a philosophical basis for the valuation of all created things. Indeed most of the scholars and artists of the Renaissance wanted to be faithful sons of the Church, and they saw this renewal of humanity, the *nova humanitas*, as something which involved



668/ Leaf from a German Biblia Pauperum, Nördlingen 1471. *These were some of the earliest types of popular picture-books. The principal events of the New Testament were shown in the centre of the page accompanied by analogical scenes from the Old Testament, together with four texts from the prophets.* Here: centre, the Crowning of Our Lady; left, Crowning of the Beloved from the Song of Songs; right, St John and an angel of the Apocalypse speaking about the Bride of the Lamb. 669/ Illustration from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, published at Venice by Aldus Manutius 1449. 670/ From an edition of St Jerome, Venice 1498. *An example of antiqua type.* 671/ Fragment from a page of Aristotle, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498. An example of the new Greek type. (cf. maps 28-33)

the renewal of the whole community, the Church included Decline in the emphasis on the purely religious aspect of men and things was both incidental and accidental Men cannot concentrate on everything at the same time, and it was only natural that an attention to details should preclude a sense of the whole Be that as it may, it is certainly true that Renaissance *joie de vivre* often degenerated into frivolity and moral anarchy Like all advocates of a onesidedly intellectual culture, Renaissance Man had created a world that was swept and garnished, but empty He was unsocial, despised the masses, and lived his life with stoic inviolability Some of the more forceful spirits fell for the attractions of the unbridled *Ueber mensch*, and in almost all there was a weakening of the conscious ness of sin and of the sense of the tragic in human life But for all that, the new way of life was not *in se* un-Christian

The conflict which such an attitude was eventually to bring
672 for all serious believers remained long hidden It burst out 676
dramatically around 1499 with the appearance of Savonarola After 1527 Michelangelo, torn by the same conflict, took the decisive step for himself and for the world, and put an end to the easy self-sufficiency of the intellectual approach of the Renaissance By so doing he marks the end of the Renaissance itself in the strict sense of the term

The great masters practised their art primarily from a theoretical standpoint, i e by way of scientific observation and experiment In representing the human figure, what fascinated them most was anatomy, and when they wanted to convey depth, then it was the laws of perspective Their naive joy in the display of their discoveries is surprising The Quattrocento is full of studies of models with over-emphasized foreshortenings, over-developed muscles and over-ingenious perspectives When the saints appear in this scientifically realist atmosphere all sense of mystery has disappeared Sometimes the effect is striking, as in the work of Piero della Francesca, but usually it is theatrical, mundane and cold, and some of the features taken over from the symbolic period, such as the aureoles above the heads of the saints, seem to us totally out of place Beauty is the
673 major preoccupation. in the saints this beauty is more earthly, 677
and in the worldlings it is more ideal Ugliness was only tolerated as an indication of character The men of the Renaissance no longer understood the symbolism of the sacraments, though they were intoxicated by the allegories which they took over haphazardly from the Ancients and reproduced in their own poetry

The revolution had begun in sculpture The human figure freed itself from the restrictions of the *bas-relief*, and of clothing, and was presented as a three dimensional plastic figure of correct anatomical proportions The great masters are Jacopo della
651– Quercia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Verrocchio and Donatello (whose
652 Gattamelata at Padua is the first equestrian statue since that of Marcus Aurelius) In painting, the 'giotteschi', the masters of the XIVth century, had gone on painting their luxurious and gilded throngs, but this came to an end around 1400 with Gentile da Fabriano, who delighted Italy with the refined elegance of his processions, and Pisanello the Veronese, a solitary
649 courtier in a bourgeois world, who drew the most realistic animal sketches and cut the most beautiful medallic profiles The year of his death, 1455, marked also the death of Fra Angelico, the
674 648 saint monastery of San Marco and elsewhere record- 678
in paint, and who sometimes, as
y of his monastery, sur-
and sincerity
work of

by Raphael,
Castiglione,
Vinci (self-

28-33]



680/ Todi Sta Maria della Consolazione 1508-1534 Probably by Bramante *The ideal model of an early Cinquecento church on a centralized plan* 681/ Pistoia Madonna dell Umiltà Vitoni 1494 1505 *still in the light manner of the Quattrocento* 682/ Rome, St Peter's cupola by Michelangelo 1547 1564 completed after his death *An example of the powerful manner of the mature Cinquecento* 683/ Venice San Giorgio Maggiore Palladio 1565 1580 684/ Montepulciano San Biagio Ant de Sangallo 1518-1539 685/ Rome St Peter's pillars of the cupola by Bramante 1506 reinforced by Michelangelo after 1547 686/ Rome Gesu Façade by Giacomo della Porta, 1572 *Light but dynamic early baroque* 687/ Rome Gesu By Vignola, after 1568 *Principal model for baroque churches with cupola and vast single nave* 688/ Venice Library of St Mark's Sansovino 1537 1550 completed in 1583 by Scamozzi [cf maps 28-33]

















Examples from the work of the Great Masters of the [illegible] 689 Titian, The Fall. Madrid, Prado 690 Tintoretto, Christ before Pilate, 1577-1581 Venice, Scuola di San Rocco. 691/ Michelangelo, The Last Judgement (detail) 1534-1541 Vatican, Sistine Chapel 692 Caravaggio, The Calling of St Matthew, 1592. Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi. Caravaggio is the first of the 'chiaroscurists' 693 Titian Bacchanal London, National Gallery *An instance of the renewed interest in the mythology of Antiquity, which provided an inexhaustible source of inspiration for both artists and writers alike* 694 *Titian Pope Paul III Naples Museum* 695/ *Titian, Portrait of a Nobleman Florence, Pitti Palace* 696/ *Moroni, Portrait of a Young Man Otterlo (the Netherlands), Kroller Muller Museum*

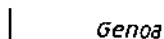
[cf. maps 28-31]

RENAISSANCE MONUMENTS IN ITALY

Quattrocento & Cinquecento

map 28 Italy a survey
map 29 Florence
map 30 Rome, Renaissance and early Baroque
map 31 Venice

Buildings from an earlier or later period
For Rome complete survey on map 31
On maps 30 & 31 principal ancient monuments are given in red



Belluno
Modena
Bologna
Imola
Faenza
Montepulciano
Pienza
Todi
Spoleto
Orvieto
Viterbo
Caprarola
Tivoli
Rome
Aquila
Naples



ITALY 28

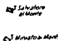
S Michele al Camposanto
S M dell'Orto
S Giobbe
S Felice
Cà d'Oro
S Giovanni Crisostomo
Scuola di S Marco
Ss Giovanni e Paolo
S M dei Miracoli
S Francesco della Vigna
S Salvatore
S Marco
Palace of the Doges
Campanile
Loggetta
Libreria Vecchia
S Martino
S Pietro di Castello
Canal Grande
Procurazie Vecchie
Procurazie Nuove
Canale della Giudecca
S Giorgio Maggiore
I Redentore
Palladio

VENICE 31

Villa Madama (Raphael)
Library
Belvedere
Palazzo Vaticano
Cortile di S Damaso
Cappella Sistina
Stanze
S Pietro
Castel S Angelo
S M del Popolo
S Giacomo degli Incurabili
Baths of Diocletian
S M degli Angeli
S Agostino
S M dell'Anima
S Luigi dei Francesi
Pantheon
column of Marcus Aurelius
Ss Apostoli portico
Trajan's Column
P Venezia
S Marco portico
Piazza di Campidoglio
Michelangelo
basilica of Maxentius
Colosseum
Palazzo Laterano
Forum Boarium
(Palatine)
(Circus Maximus)
Septizonium
(Aventine)
(Baths of Caracalla)
P Farnese
S M di Monserrato
Villa Farnesina
Tempietto Bramante
S Pietro in Montorio
Tiber

ROME 30

Chiostro dello Scalzo
S Marco
Annunziata
S Apollonia
Ognissanti
S Pancrazio
P Rucellai
P Strozzi
Or San Michele
Mercato Nuovo
P Vecchio
Uffizi
S Maria del Carmine
S Spirito
Brunelleschi
S Felicita
Palazzo Pitti
Giardino Boboli
Santa Croce
Capp Pazzi
Arno



S Miniato al Monte

FLORENCE 29

'floris' style, netherlands
town halls
châteaux
belfries

Tudor 1490 1558
Elizabethan 1558

norman windows
renaissance

châteaux of the loire
French
renaissance

Portugal 1580 spanish

manuelino
till 1521

estremadura

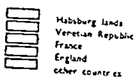
plateresco 1490-1560
Herrera, after 1563

cinquecento

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Cinquecento
monuments

Habsburg lands
Venetian Republic
France
England
other countries

for Italy Rome Florence Venice cf maps 28 29 30 31
t.h = town hall
decor = decoration
g = gothic (after 1500)
cl = cloister
stained glass underlined









647
648
649

German XVIth cent. book-illustration 697/ Woodcut by Hans Schaufelein from the first edition of the Theuerdank printed by Johann Schonsperger at Nuremberg, 1517 698 Woodcut by John de Calcar from the first edition of Vesalius's De Humani Corporis fabrica libri septem Basle 1543 699 Lucas of Leyden, Sisera and Jael. [cf. maps 28-33]

647 del Castagno Masolino and Piero della Francesca (1416–1492 the great master of the History of the Cross in S. Francesco at Arezzo After them came Pollaiuolo
650 and Luca Signorelli whose *Finimondo* in the cathedral of Orvieto is a sort
60 of prelude to the *Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel We must class as followers rather than as leaders such figures as the narrative painter Benozzo Gozzoli, Filippo Lippi, Botticelli with his penetrating but unhealthy grace and the
663 prosaic Ghirlandajo Leonardo da Vinci (1452 1519 the many-sided genius,
662 physiognomist engineer anatomist and architect introduced the sfumato
677 (the concealment with light and shade of the all too linear contours and created that composition on elementary axes which typified the High Renaissance

Padua is the northern centre and it was there that Mantegna concerned with
646 the problems of reproducing landscape architecture and the human body in a concrete plastic form. He also created the first group-portrait of the Gonzagas, the ducal family of Mantua and in a cupola of the Palazzo del Te he also painted the first fresco di sotto in su that is seen from underneath. In half Byzantine Venice there was a steady development of painting a richly mellow colourfulness Laborious study has no place here only ...

... comparison to belong to a smaller and more bustling world. To ...

... technical qualities According to ... Battista Alberti the beauty of a building consists of the harmony between
the whole and its parts, so that nothing can be added or subtracted without damaging everything' It follows that the architect is free to choose whatever forms he will provided that he relates them all into a perfectly harmonious composition a conception which runs directly counter to the dynamic and organic expressiveness of Gothic Alberti and his colleagues did not in fact choose at random but took over from Antiquity their basic forms even down ...

... of ... medallions and wreaths. A delicate and much too ... friezes and sometimes even the entire gable as in the Certosa at Pavia It is a thin architecture, with attractively ... and nicely proportioned surfaces ... juxtaposed. ... walls are ... a solid mass, ... seem ... of the flat surface and pilaster ... overhead.

... churches are the ... Three ... conceived ... in terms of ... with ... a ... and a narrow chapel and with ... The best known are ... Pitti Rucellai and Strozzi ... Florence, and 6 5 ... The ... remained ... the pattern of the ... and San Lorenzo Everywhere ... rows of ... both ... and ... the ... the monumental form ... 6 5 Brunelleschi ... on the Duomo ... the XIVth century ... the ... of the ... The ... experiments ... of San Lorenzo and the ... These are followed by more ambitious experiments ... and ... the new 650

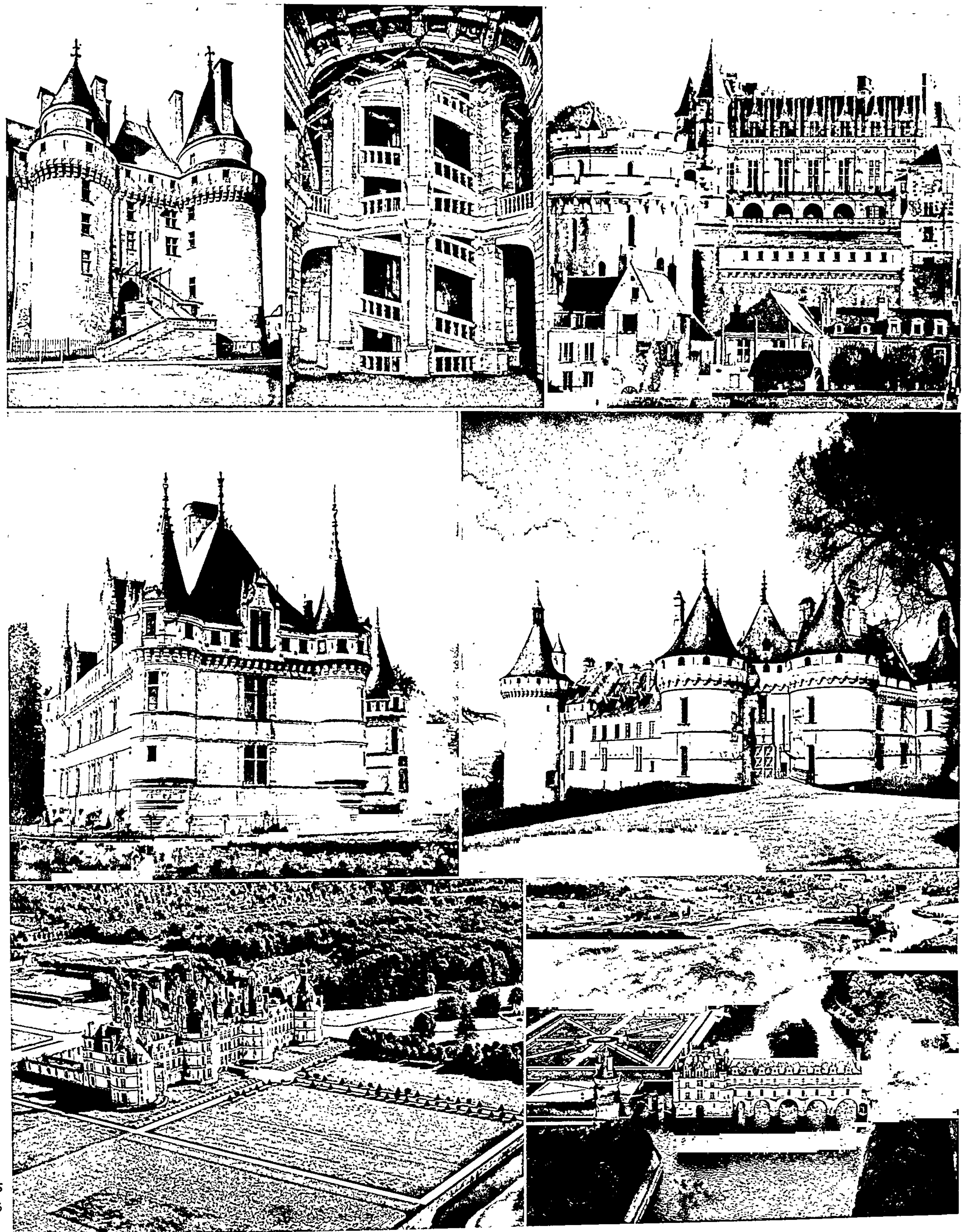
Peter ... between 1450 and 1470 Alberti built the ... 65 a ... round by massive pillars which were ... and between which the chapels were ... identical with that of the Gesù which was ... at Rome ... as the model of Baroque church architecture. Alberti 650 was the ... theorist of the Quattrocento, and ... on the ... Bramante and Michelangelo.

THE CINQUECENTO

What ... in the overall picture of the XVIth century ... now ... on the map of the XVIth century (map 35) we can see the ... between the ... of the Quattrocento and the ... of the Waning Middle Ages.

In Italy the Quattrocento matured into the monumental majesty of the Roman Cinquecento, the High Renaissance which lasted from 1500 to 15... In Germany after 151... on the other hand, the uneasy Christendom of the Waning Middle Ages ... two parts (map 3...

As for the Cinquecento ... St. Peter's in ... It was to be on a central plan with a cupola, and more of a ... than a cathedral, at least in so far as the traditional elements of ... cathedral ... and ... for the ... were concerned. So ... the men of this period for the preservation of what was old, and so assured were they of the excellence of what was new ... the whole of Christendom 6-5 ... as the ... of Constantine ... in the world, was ... to make way for the new St. Peter's. Rome ... the fame of Florence. It is now the ... Bramante from Lombardy, Raphael from Urbino and ... from Florence ... themselves as Romans ...



A process began in the XVth cent. which was not to reach fulfilment till the end of the XVIth: the French château gradually changed from a strong strategic fortification into a rich and picturesque palace. For a long time the old type remained, with turreted wings formed round an inner courtyard, and with moat and donjon. Then the central stairways, windows and fanlights began to be decorated, the ceilings were painted, and the fireplaces ornamented and elaborated. Langeais and Amboise (nos. 700 and 702) belong to the old type, but the XVIIth cent. châteaux of the Loire belong to the world of the French Renaissance. The latter are sometimes colossal palaces, full of details borrowed from Italy, but quite unlike the sober Florentine palazzi. **700**/ Langeais. **701**/ Chambord, the great stairway. **702**/ Amboise. **703**/ Azay-le-Rideau. **704**/ Chaumont, façade facing the garden. **705**/ Chambord from the North-East. **706**/ Chenonceaux, from the air.

[cf. maps 32-33]







707/ Tomar, Portugal Convento de Christo *One of the masterpieces of the 'manuelino' style* 708/ Bourges Cathedral, Chapelle des Copin Window with the martyrdoms of Sts Stephen and Lawrence, by Jean Lescuyer, 1518 *A typical example of XVIth cent. French stained glass* 709/ Paris Louvre Pavillon de Lescot. From 1546 710/ University of Salamanca. Façade in 'plateresco' style In the background, tower of the late Gothic Catedral Nueva. 711/ Beauvais Cathedral Panel from door of south transept, depicting Conversion of St. Paul, by Jean le Pot, 1562. 712/ El Escorial the convent church looking towards the high altar from the Coro Alto, by Juan de Herrera, 1559 1567 *A severe Palladian classical style in reaction to plateresco* 713/ Toledo Santo Tomé Detail from the Funeral of the Count of Orgaz, by El Greco, 1586 714/ Titian, Philip II Naples. 715/ Toledo, Santo Tomé. Detail from the Funeral of the Count of Orgaz, by El Greco (cf no 713)

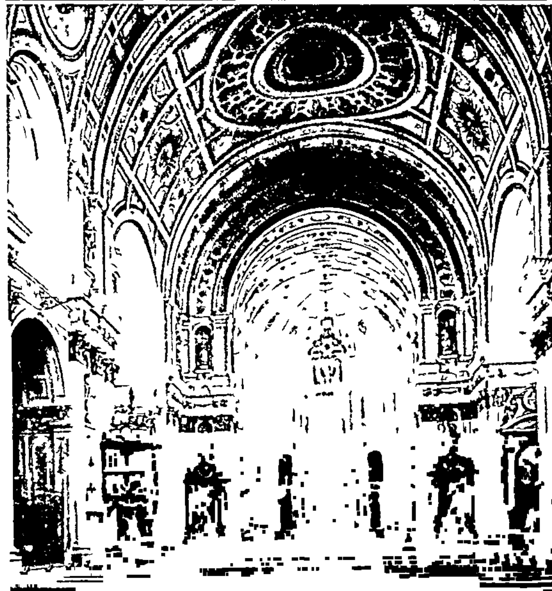
[cf maps 32 33]







716
717
718



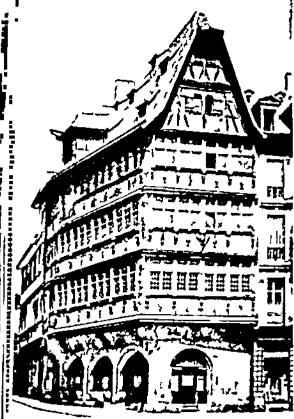




719
720
721







722
723
724

In sharp contrast with the monumental directness of the Cinquecento, the Northern countries continued the picturesque and opulent art of the Late Middle Ages, though they added a touch of Italian decorative style. **716/** St Nicholas, Kalkar. Typical pre-Reformation interior of the Lower Rhine. **717/** The Assumption. Detail from a window by Pieter Aertsz in the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, 1555 **718/** Gouda, St Janskerk. Ambulatory, with the celebrated windows by Crabeths Mid-XVIth cent. **719/** Munich, St Michael. *One of the first Jesuit churches in Germany, and the single great Renaissance monument in that country.* **720/** Detail from the Altarpiece of St Anna Joachim and Anna in the Temple, by Quinten Matsys, Brussels *Example of popular art on a sculptured retable* **720/** St. Nicholas, Kalkar. The Flight into Egypt the falls of the idols and the thieves. From the Altar of the Seven Dolours, ca. 1500. **722/** Franeker, Town Hall. **723/** Breughel, The parable of the Blind. Naples **724/** Strasbourg, Kammerzell Haus, ca. 1467.

[cf. maps 32-33]



The whole of the XVIth century provides us with an impressive portrait gallery and the entire period comes to life in the faces of its leading men **725/** The Cardinal of Brandenburg by an anonymous master Rome Galleria Corsini **726/** Henry the Eighth by Holbein the Younger Rome Galleria Corsini **727/** Erasmus of Rotterdam by Holbein Paris the Louvre **728/** Two canons of Utrecht as pilgrims to Jerusalem by John van Scorel Berlin **729/** Prince Charles of France later Charles IX Drawing by François Clouet. Paris Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève **730/** William the Silent by Anthonius Mor van Dashorst Kassel Gemaldegalerie **731/** Pieter Breughel the Elder (1515 1569) self portrait. Drawing in the Albertina, Vienna **732/** The Emperor Charles V Detail from a portrait painted by Titian at Augsburg 1548 Munich Old Pinakothek [cf maps 32 33]

















The strength of German art in the period around 1500 lies in the fantastic and the ultra-realistic The greatest names are Mathis Nithart (formerly called Grunewald) and Albrecht Durer We can hardly include Holbein of Basel here, as he worked mostly in England **733-735/** Albrecht Durer, two pages of woodcuts from the Apocalypse L. the Angels fighting the Dragon, r the Avenging Angels **734/** St Antony visits Paul the Hermit in the desert, by Mathis Nithart. Panel from a retable Colmar **736/** St. Christopher, by Adam Elsheimer (?), 1572-1647 This landscape painter was much admired by Rembrandt Berlin **737/** Albrecht Altdorfer, St George and the Dragon, 1510 Munich, Old Pinakothek. **738/** Bartel Bruyn the Elder, Portrait Otterlo (the Netherlands), Kroller-Muller Museum. **739/** Albrecht Durer, Columbine. Drawing, 1526 **740/** Hans Baldung Grien, Adalbert III of Berenfels, 1555. [cf map 33]

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Cinquecento

Renaissance

sweden

norway

estonia

livonia

courland

denmark

the netherlands

prussia

lithuania

Antwerp

england

reformation

brandenburg

mazovia

poland

bohemia

Nuremberg

bavaria

Paris

france

transylvania

turkish hungary

cinque cento

Rome

naples

spain

great discoveries

sicily

barbary

Madrid

Erasmus

Shakespeare

Michelangelo

Cervantes

Montaigne

Rabelais







733
734
735





736
737







738
739
740

The strength of German art in the period around 1500 lies in the fantastic and the ultra-realistic. The greatest names are Mathis Nithart (formerly called Grünewald) and Albrecht Dürer. We can hardly include Holbein of Basel here, as he worked mostly in England. **733-735/** Albrecht Durer, two pages of woodcuts from the Apocalypse. L.: the Angels fighting the Dragon; r.: the Avenging Angels. **734/** St. Antony visits Paul the Hermit in the desert; by Mathis Nithart. Panel from a retable. Colmar. **736/** St. Christopher, by Adam Elsheimer (?), 1572-1647. This landscape painter was much admired by Rembrandt. Berlin. **737/** Albrecht Altdorfer, St George and the Dragon, 1510. Munich, Old Pinakothek. **738/** Bartel Bruyn the Elder, Portrait. Otterlo (the Netherlands), Kröller-Muller Museum. **739/** Albrecht Durer, Columbine. Drawing, 1526. **740/** Hans Baldung Grien, Adalbert III of Berenfels, 1555.

[cf. map 33]

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Cinquecento

Renaissance

sweden

no way

estonia

Moscow

livonia

courland

denmark

Copenhagen

the netherlands

Vilnius

prussia

lithuania

Antwerp

scotland

Aberdeen

Edinburgh

england

brandenburg

reformation

poland

Oxford

bohemia

Nuremberg

Paris

bavaria

austria

transylvania

hungary

france

Bordeaux

Toulouse

Florence

Rome

cinquecento

naples

Naples

spain

barbary

sicily

Catania

Malta

Crete

Athens

Shakespeare

Luther

Erasmus

Michelangelo

Cervantes

Rabelais

Ronsard

Montaigne

Machiavelli

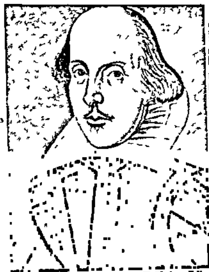
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THE GREAT DISCOVERIES
& the beginning of colonization

- Spaniards S
- Portuguese P
- English E
- French F
- Norwegians, Dutch D
- Russians

iceland
Reykjavik
Eric the Red 983
faroes 861
795 Vikings
Solovetsk
Kolmogory 1584
Charcellor 1553
Turukansk 1624
Beresov 1595
siberia
Tobolsk
Sibir 1581
Perm
Tiumen 1586
Moscow
Kazan
Bulgar
Jakutsk 1630
Olekminsk
Okhotsk
Yeniseisk
Kirensk 1665
Tomsk
Krasnoyarsk
Omsk
Irkutsk 1652
Nerchinsk
Semipalatinsk
Kiachta 1778
Karakorum
tartary
Willem v Rubrucq ofm
Blagoveshchensk
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
Plymouth
Rubrucq
Kiev
Sarai
Astrakhan
Venice
Trebizond
azores
Lisbon
Seville
Palos
Gibraltar E 1715
madeira
barbary
Marco Polo
Tripoli
canaries
Acre
Jerusalem
Bagdad
Basra
Cairo
Kerman
Ormuz
Bokhara
Samarkand
Kashgar
Khotan
Balkh
Merw
Marco Polo 1271 95
Peiping
Siganfu
Nestor
Sindafu
Nanking
Hirado
Nagasaki
Kagoshima
Fuchow
Canton
Macao
Medina
Mecca
Mascate
Diu
Bassein
Bombay
Goa
Calicut
S.Thomas
Pondicherry F
Chinsura (Calcutta)
Hugli
Tagong
chinese rites controversy
zeelandia
Franc Xaver
Tamao
archipelago d S.Lazaro (Filipinas)
ladrones
Magellan 1521
Carolinas
Marco Polo 1295
Arguin
Portendick
St Louis
C Verde
Goree
Ft St James 1663
Cape Verde Islands
Magellan 1519
S.Jorge da Mina 1482 (Elmina)
Barthol Diaz 1486
ethiopia
Massawa 1520
Aden
Zeila
socotra 1503
Albuquerque
Vasco da Gama
Colombo
ceylon
Pedir
Malacca
Brunei
Maro
Mogadishu
Malindi
Mombasa 1498
zanzibar
Quiloa
Mozambique 1498
Pedro Cabral 1500
c S Roque
Vasco da Gama 1497
Zaire (congo)
Stanley
Livingstone
Loanda
angola 1576
Corn Houtman 1595
d Cano 1522 (Victoria)
Porto Seguro
Villa Vicoza
St Helena
madagascar
mascarenhas 1505
mauritius D
bourbon (reunion) F
East India Company
(Batavia) Jacatra
J P Coen D
Amboyna
Houtman 1597
Abel Tasman
Arnhem's
Tasman
de Witts
dorre
new holland (australia)
Rio de Janeiro
Cabral 500
Cabral 500
Corn Houtman
Capetown
Cabo da boa esperanza
Seb del Cano 1522 (Magellan Victoria)
Hartog 1615
nuytsland 1627
cape leeuwin 1622
Tordesillas 1494
Alex VI 1493
Drake 1577 80
Abel Tasman 1642
new amsterdam V Vlaming
v Diemensland

Deschnev 1648
Bering 1729
Bering 1741
N Pole 1909 Peary
Mackenzie 1789 92
hudson bay
Hudson 1610 11
davis str
1585 7 Davis
1576 Frobisher
greenland
iceland
Labrador
(helmland 1000)
northern corn boundary
John Cabot 1497
Ft Rupert
Vancouver 1791 5
Juan de Fuca 592
Champlain
nouvelle france
Jacques Cartier
tierra de los bacalhaos
(new found ld terre neuve)
Vinland 1000
Plymouth
Bristol
Quebec
Montreal
Port Royal 1604
(Winland 1000)
Boston
Cambridge
Chicago
Joliet
Marquette
New Amsterdam
Philadelphia
New Sweden
Drake 1578
S Francisco
Monterey
Santa Fe
Cibola
Los Angeles
nueva galicia
San Diego
De Soto 1539 42
N Orleans
Charleston
Savannah
St Augustine
Raleigh
azores
portugal
Lisbon
Seville
Palos
Cadiz
Genoa
Drake 1577 80
Tordesillas 1494
Alex VI 1493
madeira 1419
Columbus I
Morocco
pacific
Drake 1577 80
sandwich Is (hawaii Is)
Cook 1779
nueva españa
Hernan Cortez
Mexico
Guadalajara
Veracruz
Puebla
Guatemala
Alv de Saavedra
S Domingo 1494
Col II
Col IV
curaçao
canaries
Bojador
cape verde
Montes
Branco
Arguin
Portendick
St Louis
C Verde
Goree
Ft S James
Sierra Leone
Timbuktu
mar del sur
Balboa 1513
Panama 1519
nueva granada
Bogota 1538 (S Fe)
tierra firme
Paramaribo
Cayenne
Magellan
Amerigo Vespucci
Guevara
Pizarro
Quito
Guayaquil
Tumbez
nueva castilla
Trujillo
(Lima) Ciudad d Reyes
america
Cuzco
peru
Arequipa
La Paz
nueva toledo
Cuyaba
paraguay
Sucre
Potosi
SJ Reducciones
Tupiza
Jujuy
Salta
Asuncion
Humaito
Corrientes
Tucuman
Cordoba
La Serena
Coquimbo
Mendoza
Santiago
Valparaiso
Buenos Aires
riodelaplata
Montevideo
Rio Grande
La Concepcion
Valdevia
Maranhao
Para
terra d s cruz
Olinda
(Pernambuco) Maceio Recife
S Salvador d Bahia
Porto Seguro
Ouro Preto
Espirito Santo
Rio de Janeiro
Sao Paolo
brazilian baroque
St Helena
tristan da cunha
marquesas de mendoza 1595
sagitaria (Tahiti)
Quiros 1606
(Wallis 1767
Bougainville 1768)
Magellan 521
Roggeveen 1722
Abel Tasman
new zealand
Cook
staeteland
Magellan
Is falkland
tierra del fuego
c horn



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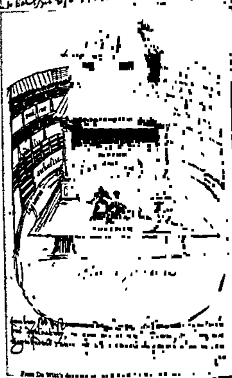
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HAMLET

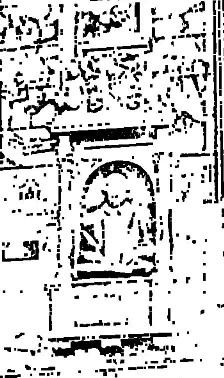
Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shake-speare.

As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse ser-uants in the Cittie of London : as also in the two V-niuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where



From De Witt's drawing











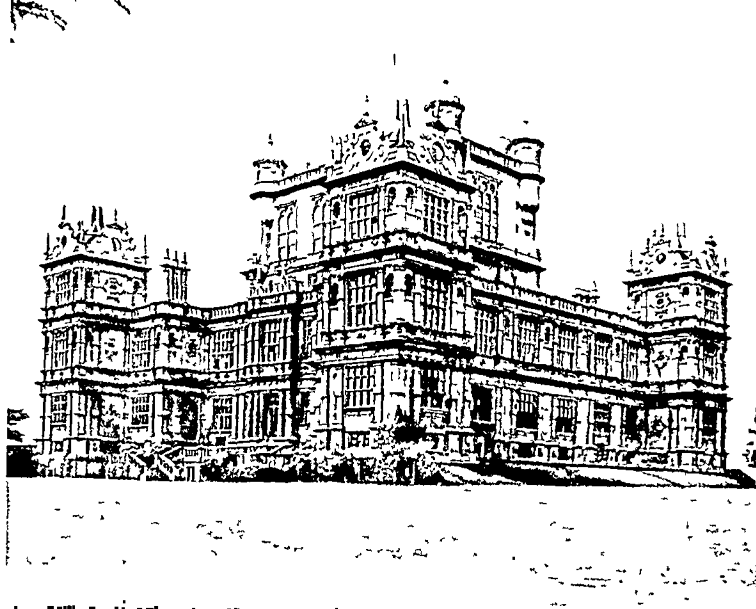
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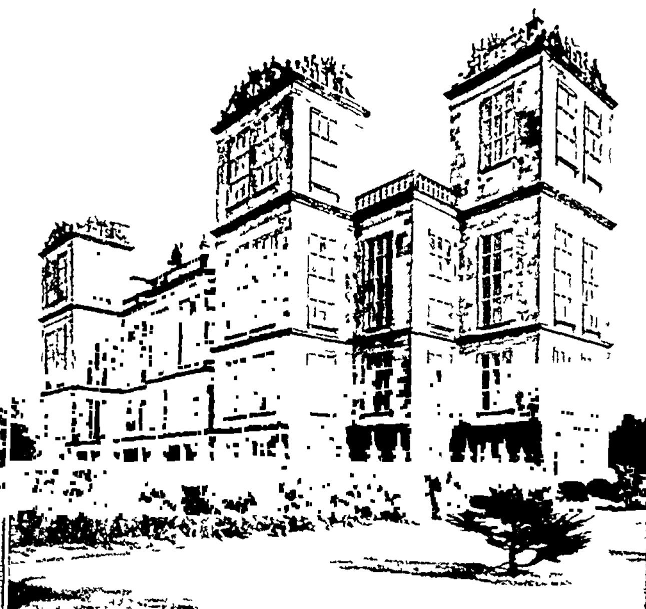
rie d two Shakespearean actors Dulwich Gallery



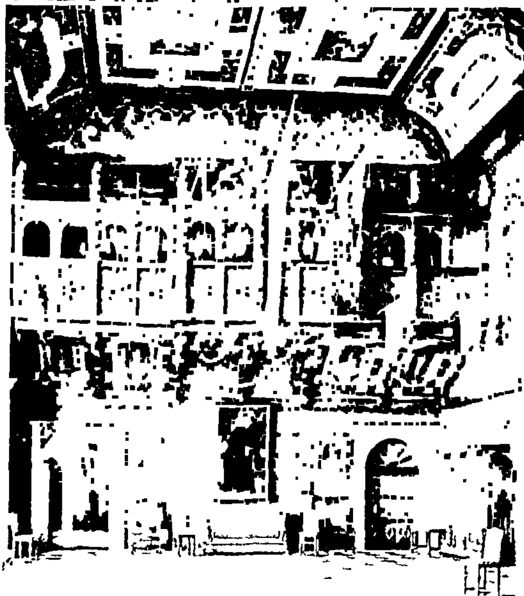


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750/ Little Moreton Hall, Astbury (Cheshire), a picturesque black-and-white Tudor home, built 1520-1580, partly by Carpenter Dale **751/** Bramhall Hall, Stockport (Lancs.). Built about 1590 by Sir William and Dame Dorothy Davenport *A typical house of the Tudor gentry The 'Elizabethan' Renaissance is notable for such picturesque and ostentatious Halls as* **752/** Wollaton Hall, Nottingham, built 1580-1585. **753/** Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield (Derbyshire), 1590, with its vast windows, succeed to the Gothic mansions, yet perpetuate the spirit and romance of the feudal age - Less originality but more stateliness characterized Jacobean mansions **754-755/** Hatfield House (Hertfordshire). The Hall, and the Entrance Front. Built 1607-1612. (**750-755** Courtesy to Country Life Ltd , London, publisher of „English Country Houses open to the public".) [cf. map 32]

spirit of the place did not allow these great masters to be anything else but Roman, i.e. universal, classical and definitive. Rome is once again the mistress of the game of this world. At the same time Europe saw the spread of the later international humanism typified by Erasmus. In the European intellectual world of the time his name reigned supreme. His *Adagia*, a collection of aphorisms and *sententiae* from Antiquity, that was expanded at each successive printing till it eventually contained thousands of items, first appeared at Paris in 1500. This book brought the learning of the humanists out of the studies of scholars to take its place in the salons and on the reading *desks of the average educated classes. Everyone who could read imbibed* the wisdom of the Ancients in this convenient form. Italy produced, one after
75 another, the best literary achievements of the century: Castiglione's *Courtier*,
76 Machiavelli's *Prince*, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Bembo's *Poems* on the Petrarchan model and, somewhat later, Guicciardini's shrewd and objective historical work. In 1512 the scaffolding was taken down from the Sistine
72 Chapel and the overbearing Julius II beheld the Creation and Original Sin painted by Michelangelo, a man as overbearing as himself, whom he could neither do without nor control, and whom he always admired.

The year 1527 sees the sudden end of the High Renaissance: the feast is
74 over. Italy had reached her lowest point in political decadence and could not recover. Rome was plundered by an already half Lutheran soldiery, and though she swiftly repaired the material damage she never recovered her carefree spirit. But even in the Curia itself Rome recovered her true apostolic vocation, to which culture was but a subsidiary factor. For outside Italy in 1527 serious-minded people were no longer concerned with the works of Erasmus or the amazing works of art in Rome, or the insinuations of Aretino. What was of primary concern was the impossible situation of the Church and the sudden appearance of the Man of Wittenberg. After 1517 Christendom is no longer one. After 1525 it is no longer the Renaissance but the problem of beliefs that moves men's deepest feelings. The repercussions were felt eventually even in Italy, where the Reformation was originally underestimated and considered as affecting Germany alone. For the atmosphere in Italy changed so perceptibly after 1550 that there was no longer any doubt that the Renaissance had ended. The change developed into what we call Baroque, the *ecclesiastical and Spanish-tinged culture of the Counter Reformation.*

The change can best be seen in architecture and in sculpture rather than in literature. The monumental self-sufficient calm of 1510 has disappeared and
77 so has the nervous mannerism of 1530. A new inner resoluteness, a real power and assurance animates the limbs and gestures of the statues and is even reflected in the *ordonnance* of the pilasters and the contours of the cupolas,
82 the latter all now derived from the *cupolone* of St Peter's. Every figure and every composition is of firm conscious purposiveness. There was no longer any hesitancy. The self-complacency of 1510 and the showiness of 1527 have disappeared. The charmingly playful Early Renaissance, the majestic High Renaissance and the hysterical *Manierismo* were succeeded, calmly at first but later more ostentatiously, by the powerful and self-assured Baroque. The last traces of *Manierismo* disappeared around 1580 and it was then that
86 Vignola and Giacomo della Porta completed the Gesù, the mother church of
87 the Jesuits and the classic model for all congregational Baroque churches. Thereafter began the stream of monuments which for two centuries decorated the whole Catholic West, the whole of Catholic Central Europe and the New World beyond the seas, and which still shed their lustre to this very day.
66 Baroque begins at Rome and spreads throughout the world. It breathes an air of assurance, triumph and authority. It is the art of a ruling caste, spiritual and temporal, who are deeply pious, patriarchal, on good terms with profane culture, absolutist and authoritarian, and yet thoroughly humane. Technically Baroque arose in Rome, but spiritually it was born of the inner tragedy of a single man, Michelangelo. He felt like no other man could feel the precariousness of the compromise between a living faith and the worldliness of the *Renaissance. His solitary conflict with the visible world is hard for the ordinary* run of mortals to understand: in twisting and tormenting his heavy figures he expressed his Platonic vision of reality. But his ultimate heroic and spontaneous surrender to Christ makes him the Pascal of the XVIth century and the father of Baroque. He brought into movement the static world of Renaissance forms and thus awoke the powerful zest of the Baroque, that new Gothic in Italian, i.e. sensualistic, disguise. It is significant than in 1550, at the end of the Renaissance, his admirer Vasari published the famous book in which he related the whole history of the movement as far as the plastic arts were concerned, starting with Giotto and concluding with his master Michelangelo. A new epoch had indeed begun.

A consideration of the culture of the XVIth century as a whole (map 33) reveals in many fields the rupture caused by the Reformation. But nevertheless the Reformation in the north and the influence of Spain and of the Counter Reformation in Italy have not killed the Renaissance spirit. On the contrary, notwithstanding the conflicts of conscience and the subsequent anarchy of the Wars of Religion, the leading spirits of the West formed a unity, albeit under the overwhelming predominance of Italian culture. Rome and Venice remained the artists' paradise: the prestige of Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian was undiminished. Palladio was the new Vitruvius, and Dante had to make way for Ariosto and Tasso and later for Marino. In music, after Willaert had gone to Venice, the Flemish had to surrender the field to the Venetians and the Romans. Padua becomes the centre for medicine and anatomy, and the Fleming Vesalius, who taught there, published his celebrated book *De Humani Corporis Fabrica libri septem* at Basel. Science now knows no frontiers. 6
There is Fracastoro from Verona, the first researcher into syphilis, the French surgeon Paré, the historian Peutinger, the philologists Scaliger and Lipsius and the geographers Mercator and Münster. These and many others all belonged to the virtually international republic of new positive science that depended more on facts than on authority and tradition. On the other hand, though such a genius as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina belongs to the Rome of the Counter Reformation in virtue of his markedly ecclesiastical style, he too, in his noble and fluid melody and in his ingenious yet crystal clear setting, belongs no less to the typically Italian Cinquecento.

But besides the dividing line drawn by the Reformation we begin to see also more and more clearly the boundaries which divide the nations from each other. What once formed a chequered but unmistakably united Christendom is now irrevocably divided into sharply differentiated nations that are capable of fighting each other to the death for their national rights. Despite the impermanent and overstrained world hegemony of Spain, France (already a centralized state under Louis XI) and later the England of Elizabeth receive the distinctive political characteristics which remain unaltered to this day. The United Netherlands broke away from the German Empire, at first spiritually and after the Revolt politically. After 1600 the Spanish hegemony no longer existed.

In all the above mentioned countries the predominantly Italianized cultural life maintained its characteristic stamp. The French armies which had passed a dozen times over the Alps between 1498 and 1530 brought the free and simple art of living of the Italian Renaissance back with them into the witty but still jovial land of the *bonnes villes* and of the cramped *châteaux* with their *narrow turrets. In Fontainebleau the Cinquecento and above all Florentine Manierismo* obtained a sort of outpost. But the French architects (for the most part ardent Huguenots) disdained the inferior Italian vaulting and only adapted to what remained of their own tradition the superior Italian proportions, motifs and general norms. Thus arose an entirely original and vigorous prolongation of the best Late Gothic tradition in Renaissance forms, but without the Italian clichés and produced with truly French finesse. It may be 7
noted in passing that the *châteaux* of the Loire (Amboise, Blois, Chambord, Azay etc.) and the plans for Charleval and Verneuil and the Louvre surpass in extent and in design the Italian residencies, just as the French monarchy surpassed the petty Italian principalities.

In erudition and in letters France remained unmistakably herself. Her literature is rich and somewhat diverse. In all fields it reveals that new feeling for life which rejoices in abundance and variety but which has no place for ascesis. It is this feeling which Rabelais brings to life in the fantastic world of Pantagruel, where all restraints are broken and all instincts satisfied. Ronsard and the Pléiade introduce the alexandrine and refine verse forms and poetic emotions. Amyot translates Plutarch. Huguenots and Catholics write their polemical verses and pamphlets, and about 1600 Agrippa d'Aubigné writes his *Les Tragiques* which spares neither kings nor magnates. By contrast there are the serene, sceptical yet forceful *Essais* of Montaigne, the country gentleman whose motto is: Que sçais je? And not far from the city from which Calvin directed his iron theocracy, St Francis of Sales, Bishop of Geneva, writes his *Introduction à la Vie Dévote* and his *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu*, which so many Christians living in the world were to read as the best introduc*tion to that spirituality which Bremond has called humanisme dévot. But* classic French is still to come: it awaits Malherbe and the *Grand Siècle*.

Apart from a series of large but uninspiring castles and country houses England possesses little or nothing in the way of Renaissance monuments. On the other hand she has the brilliant humanistic circle to which Colet, Fisher, More and Erasmus belong, and whose portraits have been unforgettably rendered by Holbein the Younger. At the end of the century the rich 7
literature of the period is consummated by the incomparable and incalculable William Shakespeare, whose thirty-six dramas contain not only a richer language but also more of the heights and depths, appearances and realities of the human situation than any other poetic *œuvre*.

Among the many cities of the Low Countries Antwerp remained the centre in architecture and the arts, and her influence spread across Germany to the Baltic with the 'Floris style', named after the architect of the Antwerp town hall, 7
Cornelis Florisz. Though the outward form was Italian the structure remained traditionally Gothicized and Netherlandish. In the cities of Flanders and





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756/ Luther, by Lucas Cranach (1535) 757/ Calvin. Portrait in the Public Library of Geneva. 758/ Melanchthon, by Cranach the Elder. [cf. maps 34-35]

Holland and in Utrecht, the Italian manner predominated, especially in painting
31 After the period of Breughel the Elder (or Boeren-Breughel) and Quinten
20 Matsys, there followed that of Peter Coecke van Aelst, Maarten van Heemskerk,
30 Jan van Scorel and the great portrait-painter Anthonius Mor van Dashorst

It was not the Renaissance that changed the overall picture of the German lands, and of the Spain so recently liberated from the Moors It was two factors which were only partly related to national culture for Spain it was the New World Empire and for Germany it was the Reformation

SPAIN: THE NEW WORLD EMPIRE

In 1492 the enigmatic prediction of the Spaniard Seneca was unexpectedly fulfilled after fourteen centuries – 'Ultima Thule' disappeared, the ocean lost its boundaries and a new world appeared opposite the old, and the vast Atlantic Ocean reduced the Mediterranean and the Baltic to the status of inland seas The discoverer and occupier of the New World was militant Catholic Spain, which had just achieved her *Reconquista* and showed little trace of the Waning Middle Ages Spain, with her hereditary Burgundian provinces, and united under the rule of Charles V with the German Empire, was the chief great power of the West In a certain sense her primacy was also spiritual, even if we take into account the Italian Renaissance For she lived at a deeper level – not only was her way of life more austere and haughty, she had also an indomitable faith The answer to the Lutherans came from Spain It is sufficient to cite the names of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier (both Basques), Teresa of Avila, St John of the Cross, and the principal theologians of Trent and Salamanca, to see how much Spain has contributed, not only to the power of the counter-offensive of the Church, but also to the sensibility of the XVIth century

The country was united, the Reformation had not touched it, it had no Waning Middle Ages – this was its greatest epoch The most beautiful monuments of the period were built in a strikingly composite style – Gothic, Moorish, and early renaissance, mixed up together in the unmistakably Spanish
14 'silversmith' style, *plateresco* Under Philip II, in Spanish eyes *Yo el Rey*,
12 'the incomparable king', the architect Herrera built the imposing Escorial, a majestic and sober conclusion to an era of such exuberant splendour

In Philip's kingdom lived the great mystic saints of the period St Teresa of Avila, the reformer of the Carmelites and virtually the first prose-writer of her nation, St John of the Cross, the poet of the Dark Night and of the consuming power of Divine Love, and Fray Luis de León, Luis de Granada and countless others The historian Mendoza wrote the critical account of the final struggle for Granada, and towards the end of the century Tirso de Molina and Lope de Vega created the characters and genres that were to determine the drama of the future The picaresque novels, for their part, captivated Europe And then, of course, there is *Don Quixote*, whose fame has extended beyond the West – that endearingly wise document of Spanish realism and unforgettable portrait of the true poetic spirit which transcends the banalities of everyday life

The Spanish word *infanterie* is a sign of the times, for the Spanish armies are everywhere After 1550 Spanish fashions conquer Europe, and even the 7
military finery of the Germans gradually yields to them The puffed breeches, pleated ruffs, short cloaks, swords and headgear of Philip II are to be found 7
in all the principal portraits, and the ladies are enveloped in Spanish bodices, pleated skirts and gloves

The Spanish mission in the New world (maps 34 and 52) has been variously judged The proud New Spain and the 'Virreinato' have disappeared, but Latin America today is independent and the descendants of the Spaniards live side by side with the indigenous population Latin America is Catholic and Spanish-speaking, and in all the older cities – Mexico, Puebla, Lima, Cuzco – and in almost every town and village of Mexico State, the churches and chapels of the Spanish epoch still survive, and in the old capital cities the universities founded in the XVIth century still maintain their traditions Though Spain has not been able to preserve either her hegemony in the West or her world Empire, she is nonetheless, like Imperial Rome, the mother of many nations, indeed of a whole continent

GERMANY AND THE REFORMATION

56 The Reformation, which began with one man, Luther, in a small university town in out-of-the-way Saxony, spread to a number of southern centres, especially in Switzerland, and at Geneva took the definitive form of Calvinism (map 35) From a simple manifesto of a few fervent adherents it became a movement whose mysterious power developed into a veritable spiritual hurricane

It blew down humanist aestheticism like a house of cards It sought out the people, and aroused in hundreds of thousands of consciences a new awareness of the problems of salvation and of the honour due to God. It first affected the Germans – rural and patrician even in their academics and politicians, and rough but by no means frivolous From thence it spread to the people of other countries, and wherever the hurricane passed it left its indelible mark The Reformation has irrevocably changed the spiritual climate in Northern Europe, in Catholic as well as non-Catholic lands – though in Spain least of all The facts are in the history books Within a few decades Germany, the Baltic countries, England, and part of Switzerland, and strong minority groups in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, the Netherlands and France, were all won over to the Reformation The Council of Trent was convened in the face of many difficulties and the new Reformers were conspicuous by their absence Trent made it very clear what was permissible and what was

REFORMATION & COUNTER REFORMATION
1517 1648 (1700)



THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

grand siècle, seicento, baroque

France
Protestant countries
Western frontier of orthodox christendom

0 1 11000000 500km.

sweden

Muscovy

le grand siècle

1620 jacobean
1648 puritan iconoclasm

netherlandish architecture

seicento

1600-80 ital baroque 1580-1620 SD churches
1680-(1750) german baroque

Turks

wallachia

the Stuarts
James I 03 25
Charles I 25 49 Civil War
Cromwell 49 60
Charles II 60 85, Restoration
James II 85 88
William III 89 1702
Francis Bacon †26

Aberdeen
St Andrews
Dublin
Howard Castle
London
Oxford
Cambridge
Hatfield House
Blenheim
Salisbury
Longford
Blickling Hall
Amsterdam
Leiden
Utrecht
Groningen
Hamburg
Bremen
Lübeck
Rostock
Kiel
Greifswald
Copenhagen
Frederiksborg 1602 22
Rosenborg 1613
Stockholm
Upsala
Åbo 46
Riga
Dorpat
Vilna
Königsberg
Braunsberg
Danzig
Warsaw
Berlin
Frankfurt
Wittenberg
Leipzig
Breslau
Görlitz
Rakow
Cracow
Prague
Olmütz
Vienna
Pressburg
Pest
Ofen
Belgrade
Istanbul
Athens
Paris
Versailles
Reims
Caen
Beaumesnil
Avranches
Angers
Orléans
Blois
Nantes
Poitiers
Bourges
La Rochelle
Paray-le-Monial
Le Puy
Lyon
Grenoble
Bordeaux
Cahors
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Perpignan
Montpellier
Orange
Avignon
Aix
Dôle
Besançon
Lausanne
Geneva
Solothurn
Lucerne
Zürich
Kempten
Innsbruck
Salzburg
Munich
Augsburg
Regensburg
Nuremberg
Würzburg
Aschaffenburg
Erfurt
Kassel
Marburg
Giessen
Paderborn
Cologne
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Strasbourg
Tübingen
Freiburg
Ingolstadt
Dillingen
Graz
Turin
Milan
Brescia
Vicenza
Venice
Padua
Mantua
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Florence
Genoa
Pisa
Siena
Urbino
Macerata
Perugia
Rome
Naples
Salerno
Bari
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Sassari
Santiago
Oviedo
Pamplona
Huesca
Zaragoza
Cervera
Barcelona
Valladolid
Salamanca
Burgo de Osma
Siguenza
Alcalá de henares
Madrid
Toledo
El Greco
Coimbra
Lisbon
Valencia
Candia
Orihuela
Murcia
Cordoba
Baena
Seville
Osuna
Granada
Málaga

Velasquez 1599 1660
Góngora †27
Galileo Galilei †42
Descartes † 50
Bossuet 27 1704 Fénelon † 1715
Louis XIV 43 1715

not The austere Caraffa had belonged to a circle in Italy which advocated internal reform of the Church and which included the Oratory of Divine Love, and such figures as Contarini Now as Pope Paul IV Caraffa put an end to all temporizings and delays revived the Inquisition and gave the new orders the Theatines Capuchins and Jesuits a free hand to save what they could

A comparison between maps 33 and 35 shows the ebb and flow of the Reformation between Northern and Central Europe The religious frontiers only become definitively established in the first quarter of the XVIIth century

In the dramatic XVIth century France is once more the nation where decisions are taken which affect the whole of the West The first nation in Christendom remained herself She frequently chose the anti Spanish anti Habsburg and sometimes the anti Papal side but she remained Catholic It is certainly
7 true that the most intransigent of the Reformers was the hard and penetrating Calvin from Noyon in Picardy and it was his system that was to be the pith and substance of Protestantism as a world wide religion France was subjected to the attraction of *sola fide* and the simple Word of God as was no other Romance land But she remained Catholic and her steadfastness was maintained neither by external compulsion nor by the whim of Henry IV

It is debatable whether an outline of the Reformation and the reaction it aroused in the Mother Church belongs to a survey of cultural history It may be said that matters of faith stand outside our field and have only a very indirect relationship with the characteristics of culture The Reformation is in fact not a positive factor in the strict cultural history of the XVIth century It brought with it a way of life in which the sacrament gave place to the Word the image to the Book and the litur y to the sermon and congregational singing (but to sermons and singing very different from those of the heroic epoch and of the days of the martyrs) All the works of art that piety had created in previous generations were now considered as idolatrous or at least as superfluous What flourished now was hymnology and the other expressions of the new piety

There is also the fact that the rupture caused by the Reformation had incalculably weakened the West and changed what had been a homogeneous culture into two parallel civilizations identical in essence but differing in appearance on account of religious differences It is true that a small part of the intellectual class held aloof from differences of belief and during the savage wars of religion which the Reformation brought to many lands and above all to France this aloofness often developed into total indifference and anticlericalism Those who were faithful to the old relig on whether from habit or conviction and those who had consciously accepted the new faith both held to their bel efs but without enthusiasm or fanaticism A new type of Western man arose the Erasmian – tolerant gently sceptical often indeed with a solid personal faith but undogmatic and stoical For them it was not bel efs but men that mattered The late Cinquecento is also the period of men like Montaigne teachers of the relativity of human values and of a sweetly reasonable art of living Erasmianism was not dead only silent After 1550 however it bore scarcely any relation to the actuality of things and since the advent of Luther it had appeared to straightforward characters as an insipid not to say pusillanimous philosophy From now on till the XVIIIth century public opinion in matters of belief is neither tolerant nor indifferent

Thus it is that the line of demarcation which after 1550 cuts off the world of Wittenberg Basel Strasbourg Geneva London and Leiden from Latin and Central Europe is undoubtedly most important and fateful for the West for it did not disappear and it left untouched no important territory A glance at the map of the monuments (map 32) reveals at once the importance of the confessional boundary Above the line lie areas once rich in works of art but now irrevocably impoverished by the iconoclasts or as in England by the dissolution of the monasteries Men now built country houses and castles not for the general good but for the sovereign or his favourites Later Tudor architecture consists for the most part of halls castles and country seats Merry England is a thing of the past and alongside the Elizabethan nobility that inherited the confiscated monastic possessions there grew up a hard businesslike and energetic merchant people that could neither accept nor dispense with their aristocratic upper class and their Anglican Church

Germany before 1525 was a collection of small and numerous cities that were both active and picturesque It was renowned for engravings and books 6
barbaric in its language and yet proud of its excellent printers and of its great 7
Durer After 1525 that powerful and flourishing land fell under the spell of 7
the man from Wittenberg Germany had to suffer all the misery of social and religious anarchy and sank into political and theological chaos The ultimate results were the isolation of German culture and the horrors of the Thirty Years War

To get a good picture of the spiritual climate of this country of the early Reformation and the first national evangelical churches one should first study the incomparable prose of Luther and the moving evangelical hymns and then the polemical theological pamphlets covering all forms of *Grobianismus* One should also study the tormented saints of Mathis Nithart and the 7
satyrs witches and ***Landsknechte*** of Hans Baldung Grien the landscapes of 7
Altdorfer and Elsheimer and above all the portraits of Cranach and his dis 7
ciples

This country of rural nobility and bourgeois dignity that before 1525 was at its zenith and that was the well spring of reforming piety is completely cut off after 1555 from the main currents of European culture For more than a century and a half it builds nothing but chateaux and town halls in a mediocre decorative style borrowed from Antwerp or Italy Side by side with that it produces an inexhaustible mass of typically Renaissance erudition mostly in Latin

But the leadership of Protestantism as a future world wide religion did not remain in the hands of the Lutherans but was transferred to the disciples of Calvin and partly to the manifold Nonconformist groups stemming from the body of the Anglican Church

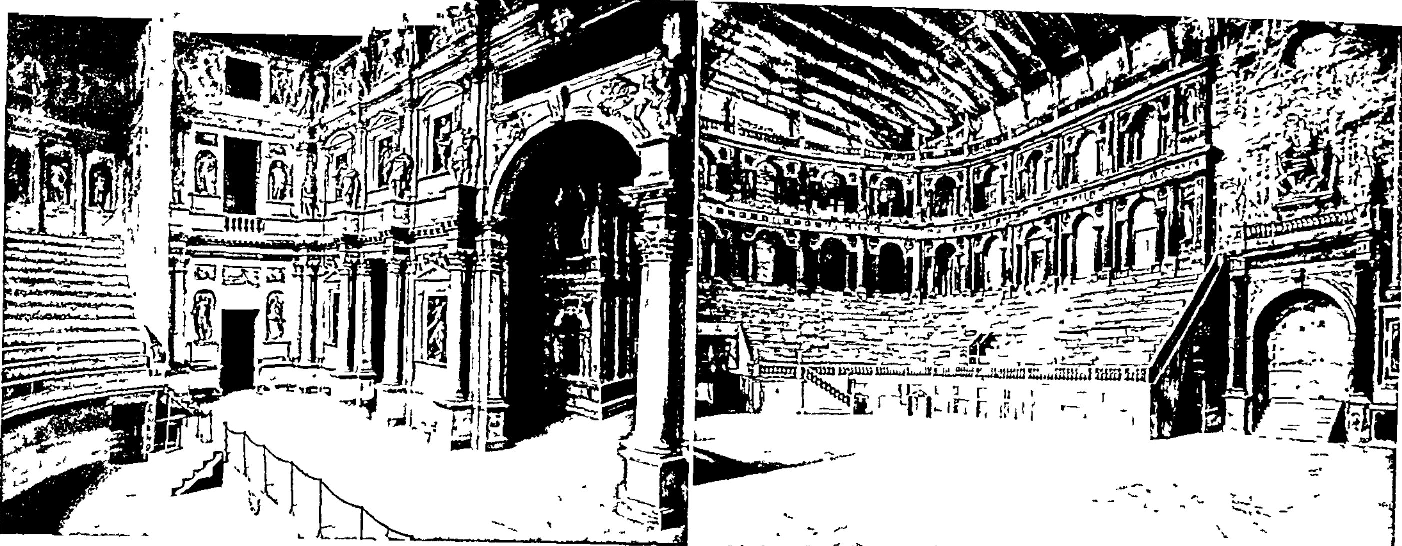
In th s century the Reformation remained confined to the West and consolidated itself in the northern lands After 1600 it was driven ut of a few Central and Southern European lands and to begin with there was little talk of any full scale mission outside Europe The Catholic Church on the contrary which had lost so many territories inside Europe sent her missionaries to all parts of the newly discovered world The Jesuits and the older orders brought the first Good Tidings to the New World India Japan and the Philippines But in the West itself Christendom was divided into two camps for good and all

FRANCE THE GRAND SIÈCLE

Despite many wars the 17th century was a period of relative stability as far as the France of Louis XIV was concerned and it was towards France that the centre of gravity culturally speaking now shifted In 1600 Rome and Italy was the centre but by 1700 it was definitely Paris Italian Baroque culture the last phase of the national Renaissance gives way throughout the West to the more detached and strictly rational French Classicism the centre of which in arts and letters was the leading Court of Europe

The hegemony of the ***Grand Siècle*** covers a fixed cultural area but the *hegemony of France is primarily political As a political force Italy was now* here and in the economic and social field she was only of secondary importance The nations now to be reckoned with are France England Spain and the United Provinces and a little later Sweden About 1700 Peter the Great provided semi Byzantine and patriarchal Moscow with a window on the West by creating a superficially Westernized upper class and thus brought Russia on to the Western scene

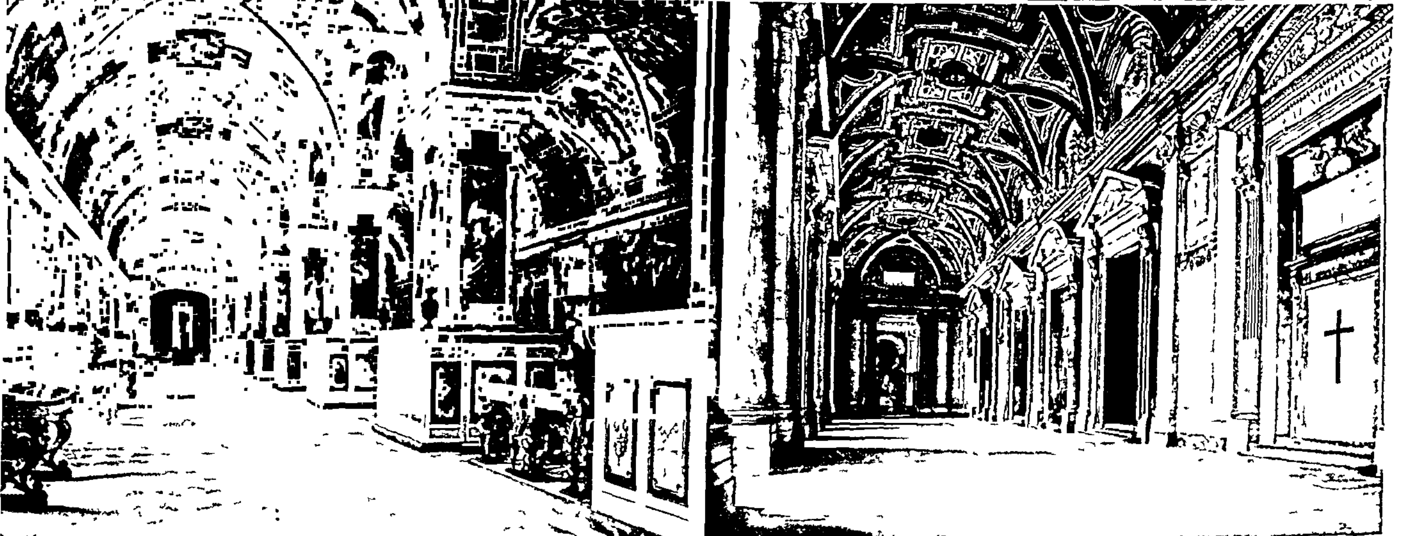
A glance at map 36 reveals that the West has consolidated itself externally as well as internally Crete (the ultimate fatherland of El Greco who had gone via the Venice of Tintoretto to mystical Toledo) was lost by Venice to the Turks but John Sob eski of Poland releived beleaguered Vienna and shortly afterwards Hungary and Transylvania were liberated for good The Crescent Moon was on the wane On the Northern fringe of the West Sweden and Poland were at their zenith Spain drifting further and further into bankruptcy was no longer a military force Though she held intact her enormous overseas empire and did not yield and inch of ground to the new sea-explorers the English and the Dutch her dominion over two oceans was a thing of the past Little Portugal independent of Spain after 1640 gradually lost almost all her possessions in Asia whereas the Dutch occupied not only Java and the Moluccas but also the eastern tip of Brazil. The West spread itself irresistibly *over the world After the colonial "settlement of the two Iberian nations there* came the colonial exploitation of Holland and England It was these two latter countries which undertook the exploration of the remote corners of the globe and recorded them on the map an atlas of 1700 might not have been so complete as one of ours but it was certainly as accurate Also at this period the Russian trappers fishermen farmers and monks spread the pattern of peaceful colonization across Siberia and by 1639 they had reached the Sea of Okhotsk The French founded a Nouvelle France on the banks of the St Lawrence in Canada reconnoitred the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and founded New Orleans In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Ply mouth bound for New England to find rel gious freedom by their foundation of an English colony in America they began the history of the United



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Till well into the XVIIth cent Italy, and especially Rome, was the leading place for ecclesiastical architecture **759/** Vicenza, Teatro Olimpico Constructed by Scamozzi to the designs of Palladio. *Palladio is the principal theoretician of classical architecture in this period, and examples of his work abound in Vicenza* **760/** Parma, Teatro Farnese; by Giambattista Aleotti (1618). **761/** Turin, Castello del Valentino Centre of façade, mid-XVIIth cent. **762/** Padua Benedictine abbey church of Santa Giustina. *Compare this fine Renaissance interior of 1502 with the Baroque interiors on the opposite page, here everything is static, there it is dynamic* **763/** Monument to St. Pius V, built by Domenico Fontana under Sixtus V in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome. 1585-1591. **764/** Rome, Vatican Library, Sala Sistina. Stateroom, also by Fontana. The decoration is for the most part of a later date. **765/** Rome, St. Peter's. The narthex, by Carlo Maderna, 1606-1626.

[*cf.* map 36]



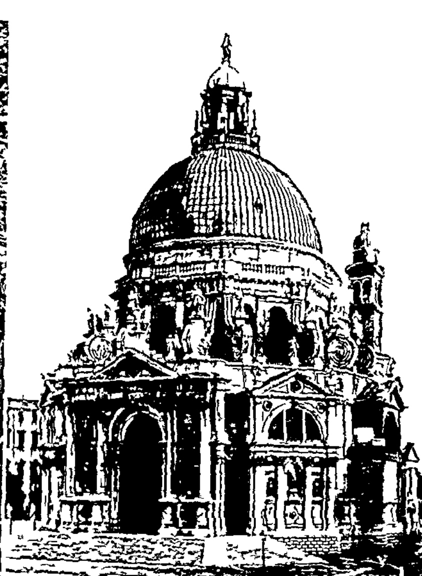
The innumerable Seicento churches the fountains and here and there the street planning show that Rome in her older quarters, is a Baroque city **766/** Sant' Agnese on the Piazza Navona, by *Francesco Borromini 1645-1650* **767/** *SS Martina e Luca, near the Forum by Pietro da Cortona* **768/** *S Andrea della Valle, façade by Rainaldi, on the front of the older church* **769/** S Andrea della Valle, 1591 1650 **770/** Sant Ignazio Next to the Gesu this is the most prominent Jesuit church in Rome Begun in 1626 by Orazio Grassi, after the plans of Domenichino The false cupola has been damaged by fire and has not been restored **771/** Transept of S Andrea della Valle *Note the heavy pilasters and the rich sensuous decoration of the Seicento* **772/** S Andrea al Quirinale, formerly church of the Jesuit noviciate One of the masterp eces of Lorenzo Bernini (for interior see no 791) façade 1678 **773/** Sant' Ignazio, choir (cf no 770)

[cf map 36]

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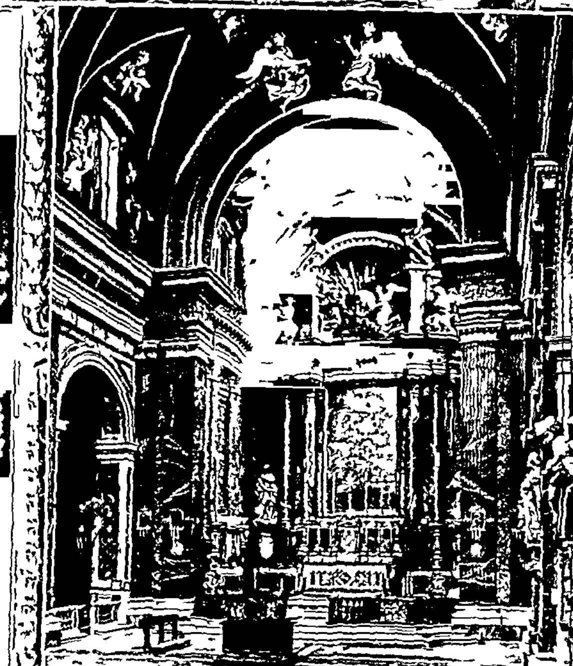






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774/ Rome, Sant Ivo and the interior of the Sapienza (university) *The church is typical of the bizarre style of Francesco Borromini* **775**/ Rome, SS Gesu e Maria Monument to the Bolognetti (over a confessional) by Cavallini Shortly after 1650 **776**/ Venice, Sta Maria della Salute by Baldassare Longhena 1631-1656 **777**/ Parmigianino, Madonna and Angels This 'manierist' religious painting of the XVIth cent *forms a striking contrast to the Baroque devotional art of the XVIIth cent* Florence Pitti Palace **778**/ Rome, SS Gesu e Maria, by Carlo Maderna, 1640 **779**/ Andrea Sacchi, St Romuald, founder of the Camaldoli, sees his disciples ascending to Heaven Vatican, Pinakothek **780**/ The Descent from the Cross, by Federigo Baroccio († 1612), one of the creators of Baroque devotional art Perugia, Cathedral **781**/ Baciccio, St Ignatius in glory Detail from the ceiling of the Gesu, Rome (1668 1683) **782**/ *Annibale Carracci, Madonna and Saints* Bologna, Pinakothek

[cf map 36]



Bernini is the great master of the Roman Seicento He has left his mark as architect engineer, town-planner and sculptor on the Rome of Urban VIII, and he is the representative of the most dynamic and picturesque phase of Italian Baroque **783/** Pope Paul V Galleria Borghese **784/** St Peter's Baldachino over the high altar, 1623-1632 **785/** Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Galleria Borghese **786/** Ecstasy of St Teresa of Avila Centrepiece of a sculpture in the chapel of S Maria della Vittoria. **787/** Self portrait. Galleria Borghese **788/** Angel with Crown of Thorns (model for one of the statues on the Bridge of Angels over the Tiber) S Andrea della Valle **789/** St. Peter's Square the colonnade dates from 1653-1666 The fountains (1610) and façade (1610-1626) are by Maderna **790/** Sta Bibiana statue in church of the same name **791/** S Andrea al Quirinale Interior A small, oval church with cupola (cf no 772) 1678

[cf map 36]

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At the moment when Spain s political influence was on the wane, her arts blossomed as never before The most outstanding figure in the reign of Philip II is El Greco, a Greek born in Crete, apprenticed to Tintoretto in Venice, and later established at Toledo For an idea of his earlier manner, see nos 713 and 715, and for his later manner see nos 792 and 794 He was virtually rediscovered by the Impressionists **792/** The Baptism of Christ **794/** Detail from a Nativity Both works are at Rome, Galleria Corsini **793/** The Virgin Mary Strasbourg *After 1600 Velazquez is the dominating figure He is the man of pure painting, in fact the Spanish Hals* **795-796/** The Surrender of Breda Madrid, Prado **797/** Pope Innocent X Rome Palazzo Doria **798/** Crucifixion Madrid, Prado *He is surrounded by a number of other great figures, including Zurbaran, Ribera and Murillo* **799/** Ribera, Communion of the Apostles, Naples, Charterhouse of San Martino

[cf map 36]









800/ Deta l from Los Borrachos (The Dr nkers) by Velázquez. Madr d Prado 801/ Detail from the Forge of Vulcan by Ve ázquez. Madr d Prado 802/ Zurbarán Franc scan Fr ar n med tat on London Nat onal Gal ery Franc sco Zurbarán (1598-1662) comb nes myst c sm w th real sm in h s subl me yet restrained p ctures of sa nts and rel g ous 803/ St. Bruno, founder of the Carthus an order by Montanes one of the great masters of polychrome wood-carving in XVIIth century Spa n Sev le Museo Prov nc al 804/ St. Thomas of V lla nova heal ng a cr pple by Mur llo 1678 pa nted for the August nians of Sev lle Mun ch Old P nakothek 805/ R bera, St. Mary Magdalene do ng penance in the grotto of Ste-Baume An example of Ch aroscuro Rome Galler a Borghese 806/ Zurbarán S Bruno n aud ence w th Pope Urban II Sev lle Museo Prov nc al [cf map 36]

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The Grand Siècle in France presents a spectacle of cold and rational splendour, graceful yet self-controlled. When one thinks of Italy, it is difficult to speak of French 'Baroque'; French 'Classicism' is perhaps a better definition. The men of the period had the consciousness that they lived in an age that was formative and definitive both in the arts and in letters. All the illustrations here are from Paris, which at this period plays a decisive centralizing rôle in French cultural development. **807/** The Louvre, colonnade by Perrault. **808/** Hôtel de Soubise, rear view. **809/** Coysevox, Cardinal Mazarin. Detail from funeral monument. The Louvre. **810/** Hôtel de Lauzun (Ile St.-Louis), stairway. 1650-1680. **811/** Cardinal Richelieu. Engraving by Meillan. **812/** Detail from one of the façades of the Louvre. **813/** Church of Sts. Gervase and Protase, façade by Salomon de Brosse, 1616-1621. **814/** Hôtel de Soubise, centrepiece of façade by Delamair. 1705-1709. [cf. map 36]



Under Louis XIV France dominated the West in arts and letters The centres were the Court and the capital Classical French art coincides with the zenith of absolutist monarchy 815/ Les Invalides from the air the Church of St Louis (with cupola) and the Hôtel, by Jules Hardouin Mansart 816/ Part of the Palace of Versailles 817/ Interior of Val de Grâce *Compare this interior with the contemporary Roman churches shown on p 155* 818/ State portrait of Louis XIV, by Hyacinthe Rigaud The Louvre 819/ S de-wall of the chapel at Versailles, by Mansart *In its combination of nobility and subtlety this is one of the finest interiors in the world* 820/ Palace of Versailles, Chambre de la Reine 821/ Bust of Lebrun, by Coysevox (The Louvre) Lebrun was responsible for the greater part of the interior decoration of Versailles 822/ Apartments in the Hôtel de Lauzun

[cf map 36]

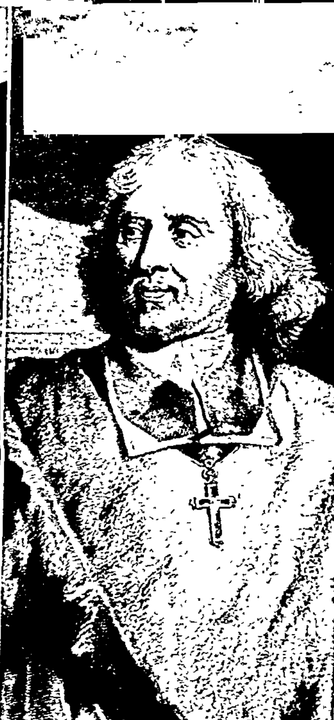
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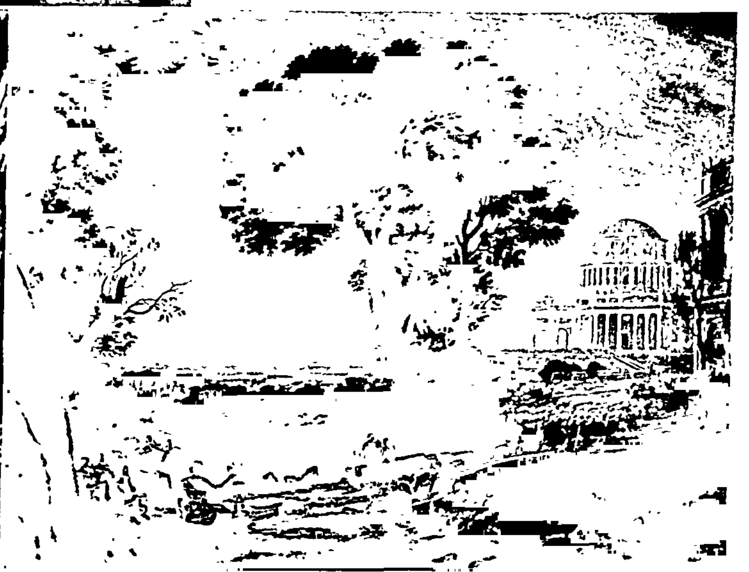




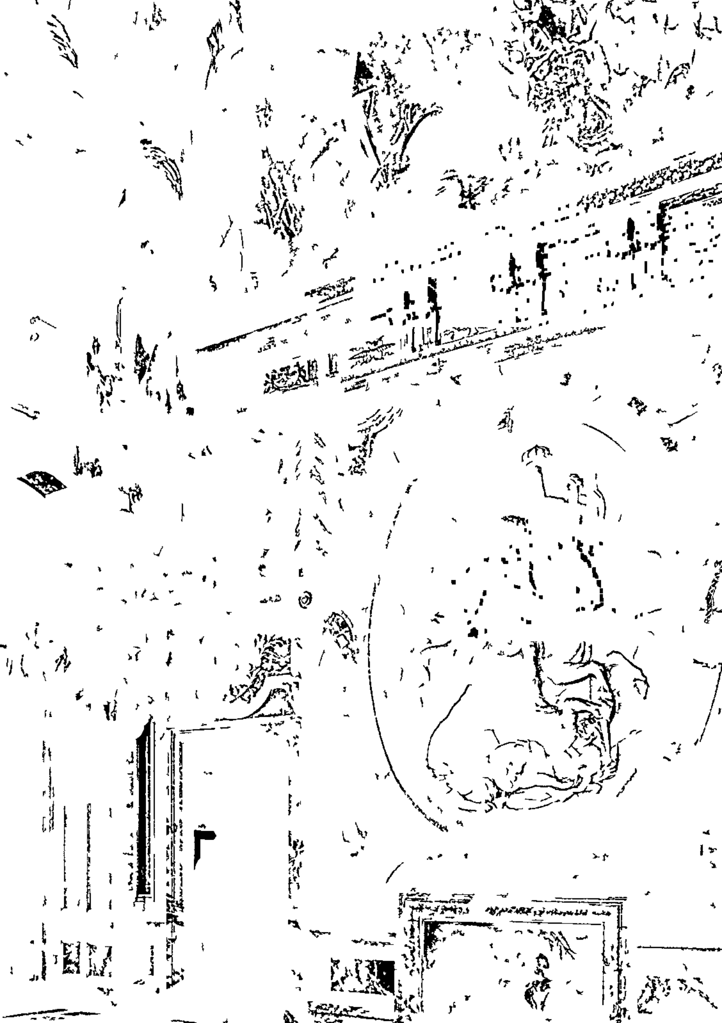


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Though lacking in spontaneity even at its best, French painting in the Grand Siècle is also notable for its combination of grandeur, simplicity and subtlety. 823/ Nicolas Poussin, Orpheus and Euridice. Paris, the Louvre. 824/ Millet, Italian Landscape. 825/ Le Sueur, 'The Mass of St. Martin of Tours' (a ball of fire appeared above his head. Before the Mass he had given his under-garment to a beggar). Paris, the Louvre. 826/ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux (1627-1704). Religious orator, ecclesiastical politician and one of the great writers of French prose. After a portrait by Rigaud. 827/ Georges de la Tour, St. Sebastian found by the Holy Women. Berlin. 828/ Moses in the Bulrushes. Tapestry made at the Louvre, 2nd half of XVIIth cent., after a cartoon by Simon Vouet. 829/ Claude Lorrain, The Sacrifice to Apollo. Opposite page 830/ Palace of Versailles, Salon de la Guerre. Coysevox and Lebrun, 1678. [cf. map 36]



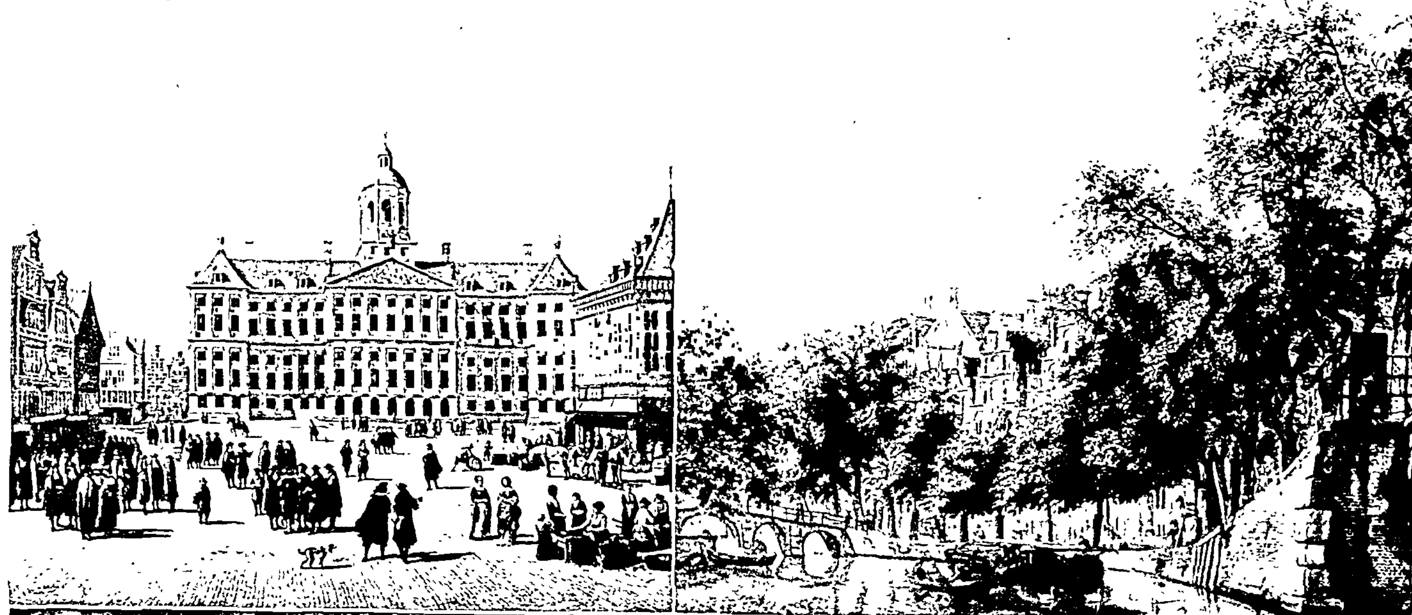




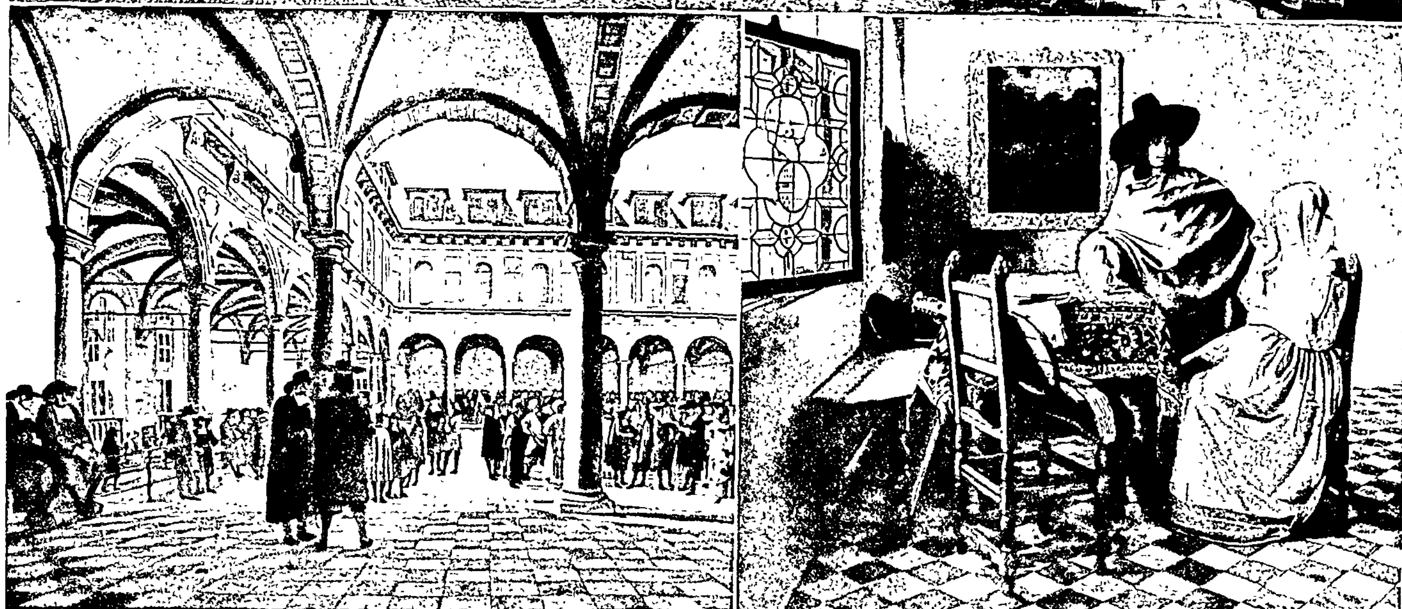
In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided The southern half, formerly the richer of the two is now the poorer, but none the less it represents the northern tip of European Baroque culture The two decisive factors in its development are the court of the Archdukes at Brussels and the international figure of Rubens 832/ Jordaens The Boatmen of the Scheldt. Copenhagen 833/ Rubens, Landscape with Cattle Munich, Old Pinakothek 834/ Ghent, St Peter's Church, by Huyssens Ca. 1630 835/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance 1620 Antwerp 836/ Abbey church of the Premonstratensians at Ninove Architect unknown 837/ The Duchess of Richmond as St. Agnes by Anthony van Dyck, the pupil of Rubens Windsor Castle, Royal Collection 838/ Rubens The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus 1618 Munich, Old Pinakothek. 839/ Rubens, Portrait of his son Albert. 1616 Berlin Opposite page 831/ Apollo and Daphne, by Bernini 1622 Rome, Villa Borghese.

[cf map 37]

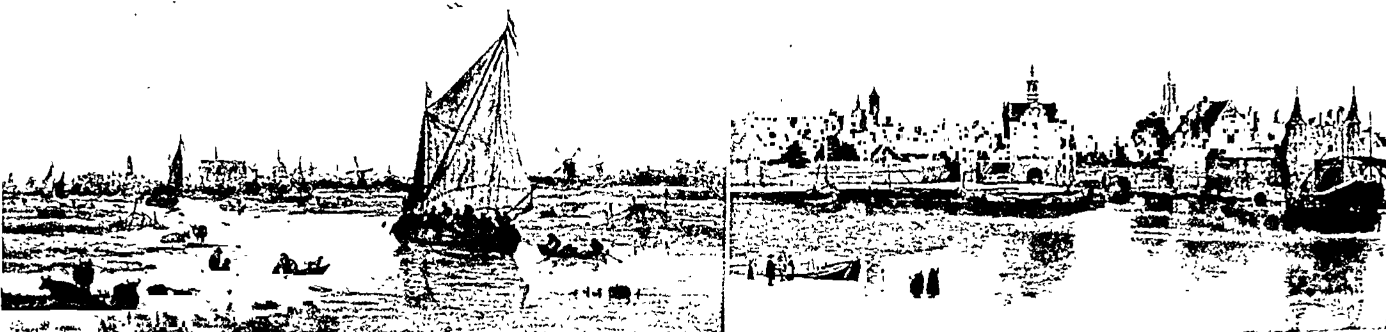
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With but one exception, all the illustrations on the following five pages are taken from Dutch paintings of the XVIIth cent. In no other country are painters so much concerned with everyday reality and so little with mythological, courtly or religious subjects, and their work thus provides us with an unforgettable impression of that unique community, 'The Republic of the United Provinces'. 840/ G. Berkheyde, The Raadhuis, Amsterdam (architect J. van Campen). Brussels. 841/ Jan van der Heyden, The Herengracht, Amsterdam. London, Collection of Messrs. Duits. 842/ J. A. Berckheyde, The Old Exchange, Amsterdam. Ca. 1670. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans. 843/ The Glass of Wine; by Vermeer (1659). Berlin. 844/ Jan van Goyen, View of Leiden (1650). Leiden, Lakenhal. 845/ Vermeer, View of Delft (1658). The Hague, Mauritshuis. [cf. map 37]



The principal themes of the XVIIth cent. Dutch painters are interiors, still lifes, views of towns, landscapes, seascapes and portraits. 846/ Ruysdael. View of Haarlem. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 847/ Hercules Seghers. View of a town on a river (probably Rhenen on the Rhine). Berlin. 848/ Emmanuel de Witte. Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam. Dark and sombre furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof. Instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of St Jan, 's Hertogenbosch (1618-1635). The town was captured in 1629 by Frederik Hendrik. 850/ Pieter Saenredam. Interior of a church (probably the Buurkerk at Utrecht). Munich, Bavarian National Museum. 851/ Adriaen van de Velde. Winter sports on the Ice. Paris, the Louvre. 852/ Willem van de Velde the Younger. The Cannon Shot. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. [cf

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853/ Hugo Grotius, by Michel van Mierevelt (ca 1631) Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 854/ Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the State Pensionary of Holland, by Michel van Mierevelt Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 855/ Rene Descartes, the French philosopher who spent many years in Holland, by Frans Hals, 1649 Copenhagen, State Museum 856/ Jan Steen, 'Sinterklaasavond' Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum On the 6th of December, the feast of St Nicholas, the saint is traditionally supposed to come from Spain with presents for the Dutch children The custom is still observed today 857/ A J van Ostade, The Alchemist (1661) London, National Gallery 858/ Frans Hals, The Regentesses of the Hospice for the Aged at Haarlem (1664) *The celebrated satirical portrait of bourgeois ladies engaged in charitable work* 859/ Detail from 'The Officers of the St Joris Sharpshooters Company', by Frans Hals (1627). Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (which besides this picture and no 858 contains a great number of Hals's masterpieces) [cf map 37]



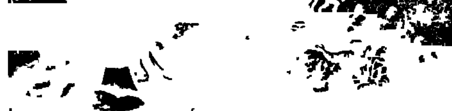
















No Dutch name is so well known as that of Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn (1606-1669). Among the innumerable painters of the XVIIth cent. he stands out as a unique and lonely figure who went his own way not only in his artistic work but also in his private life. He owes his fame to posterity and above all to the XIXth cent. 860/ The Flight into Egypt, by Pieter Lastman, Rembrandt's teacher. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans. 861/ Self portrait at the age of twenty-eight (1634). Berlin. 862/ Jeremias weeping over the Destruction of Jerusalem. 863/ Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels, Rembrandt's second wife. 864/ The Ascension (1636). Munich, Old Pinakothek. 865/ Portrait of Rembrandt's son Titus (ca. 1656). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 866/ The Preaching of St. John the Baptist (ca. 1635-1637). Berlin. 867/ The Mennonite pastor Cornelis Claesz. Anslo consoling a Woman (1641). Berlin.







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853/ Hugo Grotius; by Michel van Mierevelt (ca. 1631). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. **854**/ Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the State Pensionary of Holland; by Michel van Mierevelt. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. **855**/ René Descartes, the French philosopher who spent many years in Holland; by Frans Hals, 1649. Copenhagen, State Museum. **856**/ Jan Steen, 'Sinterklaasavond'. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. On the 6th of December, the feast of St. Nicholas, the saint is traditionally supposed to come from Spain with presents for the Dutch children. The custom is still observed today. **857**/ A. J. van Ostade, The Alchemist (1661). London, National Gallery. **858**/ Frans Hals, The Regentesses of the Hospice for the Aged at Haarlem (1664). *The celebrated satirical portrait of bourgeois ladies engaged in charitable work.* **859**/ Detail from 'The Officers of the St. Joris Sharpshooters Company', *by* Frans Hals (1627). Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum *(which besides this picture and no. 858 contains a great number of Hals's masterpieces).* [cf. map 37]



















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Three Dutch poets. [illegible] Hooft, by M[illegible] van Mierevelt. University of Amsterdam. 869/ Huygens, by Caspar Netscher (1672). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 870/ Vondel, by Govert Flinck. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

[illegible]

[illegible] the Dutch [illegible]

[illegible] the XIIIth century [illegible]. In the Grand Siècle there still existed in France a certain regional autonomy, and the privileges of clergy and nobility remained intact, though only by the prerogative of a monarchy ruling by Divine Right. But the era of [illegible] rebellion [illegible] and of the Fronde has passed.

[illegible] State [illegible] I am the State said Louis XIV – maintained an enormous Court and held there at its behest the nobility and a large part of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. The State set the tone in taste and in morals; it protected industry under the mercantile policy of Colbert, gave monopolies to the commercial companies and maintained a fleet by sea and an army by land. It was the State which [illegible] Vauban to put the art of war on a [illegible]

[illegible] employed the talents of the great generals Condé and Turenne. The State [illegible] the Garonne with the Mediterranean, decided the issues of war and peace, and did not hesitate to set Europe in flames either for dynastic reasons or merely for personal glory. It was praised by [illegible] it organized artistic life and taste by means of the Académie. It [illegible] zealous guardian of religion, but gave abbeys in commendam and [illegible]. The delegated task of the episcopate, [illegible] the leading orator and prose-writer of the kingdom, was [illegible] the liberties of the Gallican Church, and yet at the same time to preserve carefully the link with Rome – as the Jansenists and Port-Royal were to find to their cost. Further than that the history of the West, [illegible] concerned not so much with ideas as with national [illegible].

The monarch decided everything, including the question of religion. Confessional boundaries, stabilized by 1648, coincide with national frontiers.

871/ Rembrandt, Sts. Peter and John and the paralytic at the gate of the Temple. Etching, 1659. 872/ Rembrandt, The Presentation in the Temple. Etching, ca. 1640. [cf. map 36].

Amsterdam



Haarlem

Middelburg

Bruges

saxony
hesse-cassel
jülich
hesse darmstadt
nassau
luxemburg
mainz
palatinate
Mannheim
Nancy
baden
Strasbourg
wurtemberg
Stuttgart
Würzburg
Bamberg
ansbach
bohemia
Prague
Dresden
silesia
bavaria
Munich
Passau
Salzburg
salzburg
austria
Vienna
Melk
St. Florian
styria
tyrol
switzerland

SOUTH GERMAN BAROQUE

France
territories of the Austrian succession
Vorarlberger-Muenster design

38

pietism
deism
Dresden
Prague
Vienna
oberschwäbische kongr.
bayrische kongr.
melker kongr.
schweizer kongr.
salzburger kongr.
Passau
Salzburg
Zurich
Basel

THE SPIRITUAL BACKGROUND
of South German Baroque

The principal Benedictine monasteries are grouped under the following congregations:
oberschwäbische, niedersächs., & Melker Kongregationen
schweizer & bayrische Kongregationen

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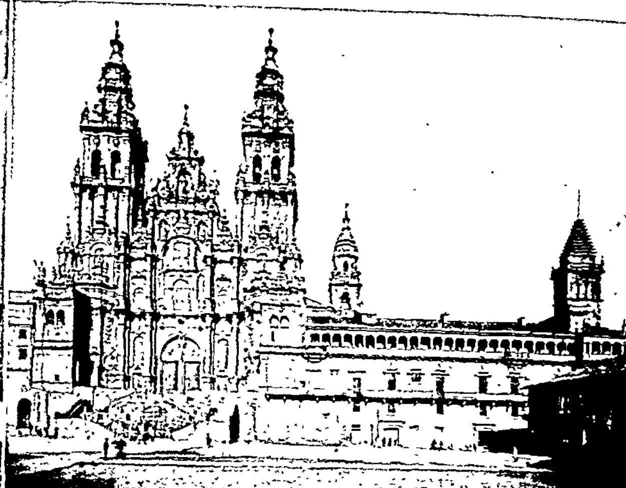


Around 1700 there is an awakening of the German genius in the fields of music and architecture The last phase of Baroque is represented in Rococo The major works are constructed between 1700 and 1760 and are to be found principally in South Germany they comprise residencies, abbeys and sumptuous churches The homogeneous town-plans of cities like Vienna, Prague and Dresden date from this period 873/ Saint-Gall the cathedral 874/ Munster residence, by Schlaun, 1767 875/ Einsiedeln, abbey-church (façade) 876/ Einsiedeln, choir of abbey-church 877/ Eins edeln, lateral nave in abbey-church *Example of the 'Vorarlberger Munsterschema a 'Hallenkirche' with tribunes above the lateral naves and with a dominating central cupola* 878/ Saint Gall, cathedral 879-81/ Abbey of Melk mother house of a German Benedictine congregation The masterpiece of Prandauer Centre principal façade between two lateral wings, left the church, right the library

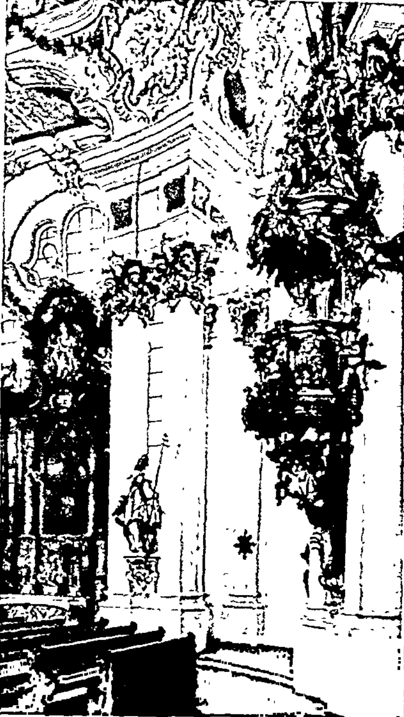
[cf map 38]

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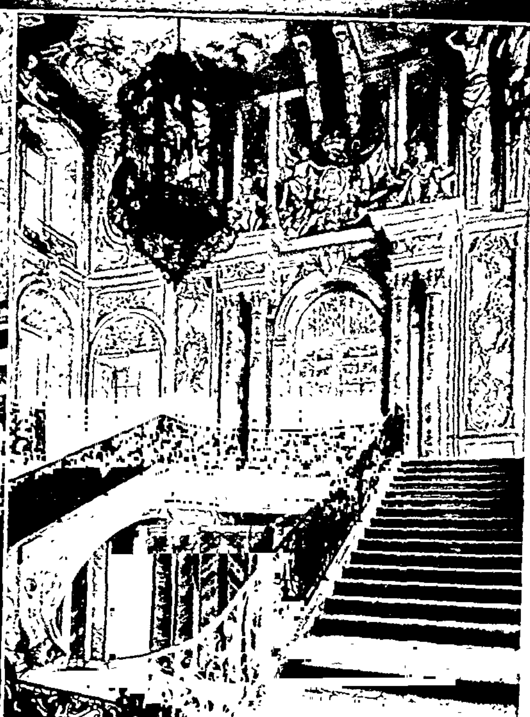




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882/ Vienna, the Belvedere. 883/ St. James of Compostella. West-front built in XVIIIth cent. in front of the old romanesque pilgrim-church. *Example of the 'churrigueresco' style.* 884/ Pilgrim-church 'Die Wies', near Steingaden: one of the masterpieces of Zimmermann, 1746-1754. 885/ Benedictine abbey-church at Neresheim, by Balthasar Neumann, 1745-1792. *One of the largest interiors of this period; the somewhat frigid classical decoration dates from about 1800.* 886/ Staircase in the Château de Brühl, residence of the Prince-Elector Archbishop of Cologne. *One of the finest interiors of the Rococo period.* 887/ Venetian Masqueraders, by Pietro Longhi. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara. 888/ 'Man killed by the serpents, raising his eyes to the Brazen Serpent'. Detail from frieze in the Academy at Venice. *By Tiepolo, the greatest painter of the Settecento.*

[cf. maps 38-40]







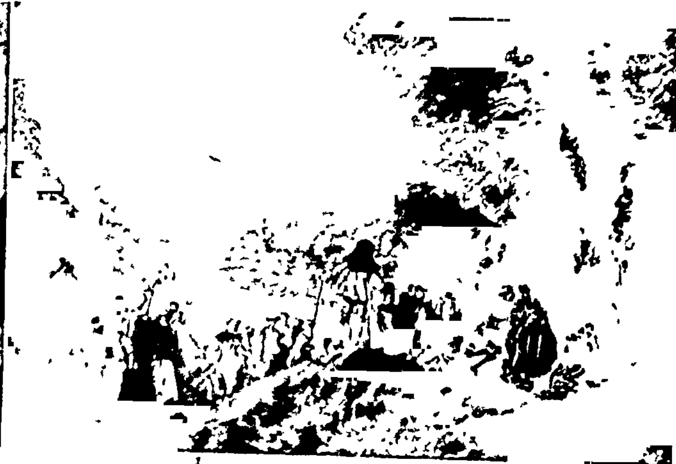
889/ The Superga, near Turin *masterpiece of the Piedmontese architect F Juvara already slightly classical* 890/ Ste Geneviève at Paris (since 1791 the Pantheon) *By Soufflot, who wished to combine the lightness of Gothic with strictly classical forms* 891/ Versailles, the Grand Trianon, in the sober forms of early neo-classicism 892/ Sens, cathedral Detail of wrought iron choir-screen of 1762, recently restored to its original place 893/ Rome St. John Lateran Cappella Corsini (ca. 1735) By Alessandro Galilei, who also built the celebrated façade of this cathedral 894/ Dordrecht, the Grote Kerk copper choir screen 895/ Auch (Gers), west front of the cathedral (1670-1680) built in front of the XIVth cent Gothic nave. *Example of the continuity of French taste* 896/ Convent-church of Ocotepec, near Tepotzlan, Mexico *Example of Mexican provincial church* 897/ Lima, Peru Archiepiscopal palace. *Example of flourishing native Baroque in Latin America Note the miradores or loggias*

[cf maps 40-41]

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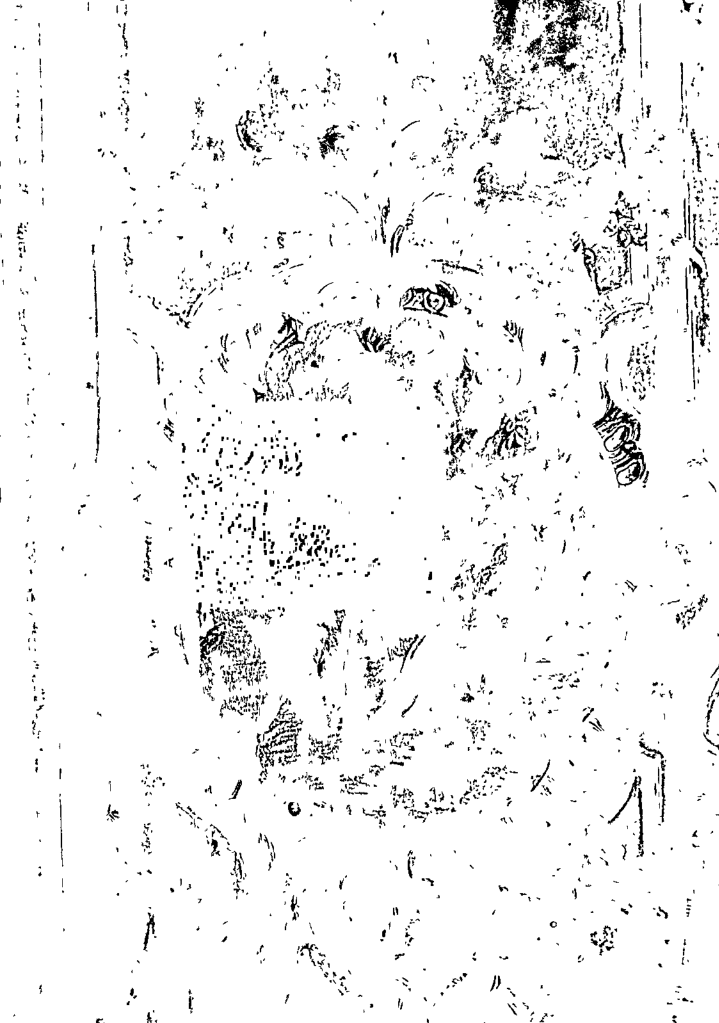
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A grace and a gaiety sometimes bordering on the frivolous are the hall-marks of French painting in the XVIIIth century The seriousness of the Grand Siècle has departed. But at the same time there appears in painters like Watteau and Fragonard the first purely tonal painting, and in Chardin and others we may find a new and subtle feeling for the intimate. The greatest figure, however, towards the end of the century, is that of the *Spaniard Goya y Lucientes* - visionary, moving, and bitterly realistic. 898/ Fragonard, 'La Fete de Saint-Cloud'. 899/ Watteau, 'L'Embarquement pour Cythère' Paris, Louvre 900/ Goya, *Portrait of Doña Isabel Cobos de Porcel.* London, National Gallery. 901/ Boucher, Madame de Pompadour (ca. 1758) London, Wallace Collection 902/ Chardin, 'Le Jeune Dessinateur' (1737). Berlin 903/ Goya, Royal Family of Carlos IV. Madrid, Prado. *Unsparing portrait of a royal family at the end of the Ancien Régime* 904/ 'Flora', by Falconet. Statue in the Gardens of Versailles. Opposite. 905/ The Fox and the Lamb Rococo panel in the Hôtel de Rohan, Paris.





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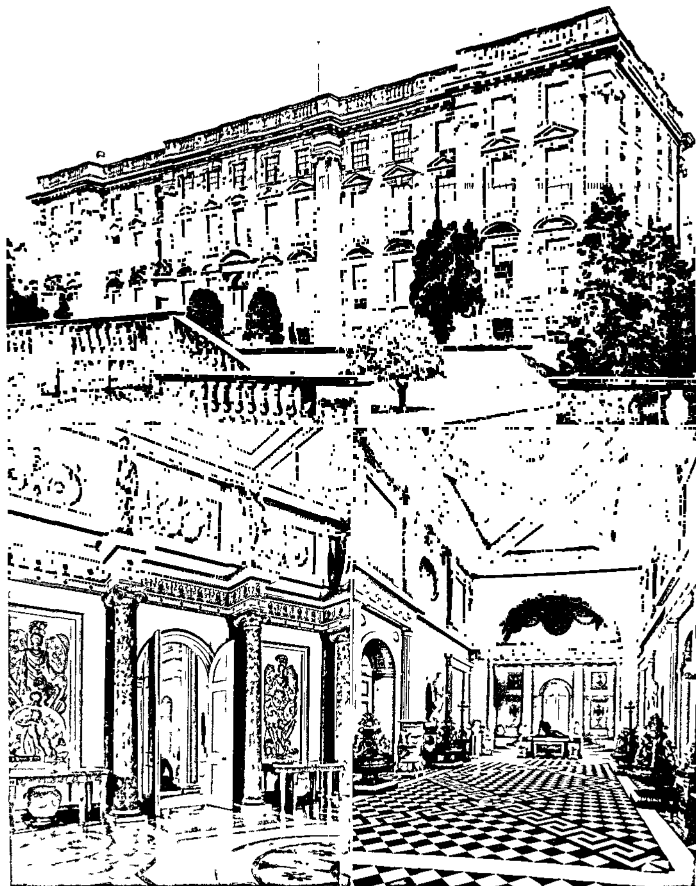
906/ Handel 1757. London, National Gallery. 907/ Johann Sebastian Bach. Lithograph by C W. Mieling. The Hague, Gemeentemuseum 908/ Mozart. Lithograph by G. J Decker. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.
[cf. map 36]

Louis XIV eventually revoked the Edict of Nantes, and the Huguenots consequently had to emigrate to Holland and Brandenburg Faith is still a fundamental issue, officially at least, and so is the confessional *status quo* The nonconformist churches applied the same criteria – as the Stuarts learned to their cost when they found that the Puritans did not shrink from regicide Christina of Sweden had to leave her own country and live in exile at Rome after her conversion to Catholicism Nevertheless, the century maintained fundamentally a deep faith It is the age of the classic Anglican piety of the Caroline Divines and of Laud, and, by contrast, it is also the age of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* of Milton, and of Cromwell, and of the energetic but humourless Puritans It is the age, too, of the incomparable revival of French spirituality, of Bérulle, Condren, Olier, and St Vincent de Paul, the *Pensées* of Pascal
853 and the *Elevations* of Bossuet We should also not forget that such figures as Descartes and Grotius, Bernini and Frescobaldi, Racine and Rubens, Galilei and Newton, are believers Unbelievers like Hobbes and Spinoza, freethinkers like Rembrandt and the Socinians are exceptions that prove the rule The favourite themes of the sensuous Baroque art of the period are personal contact with God and His saints, ecstasy, prayer, miracle and martyrdom

But culture gradually emancipated itself – first in science and then in art Both Catholic and Protestant Churches saw the independent growth of new fields of profane science, a development which boded ill for the old theocracy However strange it may sound, it can be said that the atmosphere of the Baroque period is that of critical rationalism, even though it had to serve the turn of the magniloquent and theatrical artistic paraphernalia that was required by Church and Crown The names of Boyle, Newton, Harvey, Christiaan Huygens, Van Leeuwenhoek, Pascal, Galilei and Torricelli, and so many others serve to remind us both of the great progress of natural science and also of the great change which the world picture has now undergone Almost all the great philosophers of the period are also great mathematicians
855 (though Locke is an exception), and it is significant that Newton and Leibniz share the honours for the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus Proceeding from the concept of clear and distinct ideas, the system of René Descartes rested on the priority of thought over existence It is thus the leading force in the rationalism of its time But its constructive possibilities and its tendency to minimize the moments of existential reality make it also the precursor of the later idealist systems Spinoza is the successor of Descartes, just as Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne follows Locke the cold empiricist and forerunner of the XVIIIth century

Absolute monarchy demanded an art that was both representative and majestic, and yet also comprehensible, stimulating and popular, these conditions were fulfilled by international Baroque It was in essence the Roman Early Baroque of 1530–1580, modified by marked national variants, and perfected as a purely intellectual process in the Versailles and the Paris of Louis XIV A detailed examination of the map country by country will show that major architecture town planning, and the principal forms of decoration, whether on religious subjects or contemporary interpretations of mythology, are on
815-29 the whole homogeneous, and follow the 'Italian' style On the other hand, in the more intimate genres like cabinet-paintings miniatures, figurines and engravings, there are wide differences between one country and another In general, however, the static, linear, loosely-knit and majestic harmony of the previous century – and of the Renaissance – is replaced by the flowing, dynamic, 'atmospheric', and contrived Baroque manner Baroque fits everything Velázquez Rubens, Rembrandt and Poussin, Bernini and Coysevox, the 703
Square of St Peter's, the triumphant Rome of Urban VIII, and Versailles, 753
the *commedia dell' arte*, the first operas, and the voluminous clothing (including 835
the full-bottomed wig and other features to enhance the human silhouette) – all these elements combine to form a single homogeneous picture of the period Strictly speaking of course, Baroque is not a manner that achieves its great effects by haphazard and functionless forms It reduced all arts once more into an order, and by its dynamic harmonization of opposites marks a virtual return to mediaeval expressionism It is, as it were, a new 'Gothic', in sensuous Italian forms The extravagant and startling detail disappears, and the total effect emerges in its own right It is more than a question of an individual church, palace or piece of furniture, Baroque works in terms of whole complexes, firmly grouped around a central axis, in which buildings, gardens and environment interact upon each other Baroque often affects the entire appearance of a city which, though not particularly outstanding for its individual monuments can be made to form a grand visual unity like Prague or Vienna, the endless façades, wide terraces, squares, statues, fountains and stairways, are exploited to form a single picture dominated by domes crowned with festive lanterns and the silhouettes of spires and towers Baroque interiors convey a condensed spatial effect, Baroque figures seem to be caught in a fleeting moment of life, Baroque painting moves slowly but surely from the plastic and formal towards the visual, the 'atmospheric', and the allusive and from thence towards the themes which gave the least opportunity for emotional rhetoric – the landscape, the interior and the portrait But in this ultimate process Baroque lost its very essence and became assimilated into the style of the following era

'Under Louis XIV', wrote Bossuet, 'France began to know herself' Of all the nations France became the most conscious of her mission, and in all her manifestations she saw herself primarily as an *oeuvre de raison* She is conscious of her classicism, and prouder of her glorious present than of the sum of her past achievements In the controversy between Ancients and Moderns it was the Moderns who won Racine, Corneille, Molière and La Fontaine conquer Europe and the World Between the time of Malherbe and Saint-Simon the rich storehouse of French literature is created, and with it that most admirable of all instruments of thought, the French language. The most elegant and limpid prose in the world revealed itself in memoirs, dialogues, essays, letters, 'maxims', sermons and theological and philosophical treatises Spanish, Italian and English literature possess their own incomparable masterpieces, but when Western Man wants to learn of the human heart and to express his thoughts and feelings lucidly and exactly, he turns time and again to French literature of the *Grand Siècle* Its judgement may be detached but its feeling is sincere If the Moderns have a new spiritual depth that is lacking in the Ancients, it is perhaps because they were Christians and it is most certainly because they were Frenchmen



The eighteenth century is the golden age of English domestic architecture. Baroque castles are followed by the Palladian mansions of the Georgian era, monuments of rational taste and unostentatious splendour. 909/ Stoneleigh Abbey, Kenilworth (Warwickshire). Built by Francis Smith, early Georgian. The end of the century sees the rise of neo-classicism; the predominant architect is the Scotsman Robert Adam. 910-911/ Syon House, Brentford (Middlesex): the anteroom 1762, and Entrance Hall give an idea of the elegant simplicity even of his most sumptuous interiors. (909-911 Courtesy to Country Life Ltd., London, publisher of 'English Country Houses open to the public'.) [cf. map 41]







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The eighteenth century marks the apogee of English painting, especially in portrait and landscape **912/** Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India 1732-1810, by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1811), National Portrait Gallery **913/** Dr Samuel Johnson, by Sir Joshua Reynolds Tate Gallery **914/** Sarah Siddons, by Thomas Gainsborough National Portrait Gallery. **915/** Two scenes from „Mariage à la Mode", by Hogarth Tate Gallery **916/** Hampstead Heath, by John Constable Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. **917/** *Crossing the Brook, by Turner,* National Gallery. (912-917 Courtesy to the Trustees of the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery.)

[cf. map 40]

the age of enlightenment

queen anne

London

Dublin

Paris

Rome

Naples

Palermo

Madrid

Seville

Cracow

Minsk

Budapest

Salzburg

rococo

baroque

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

France

Prussia 1740

Southern & Eastern frontiers of the West

For South Germany see Maps 38-39

classicism

1733 • Society of Dilettanti
1750 Dawkins & Wood (Palmyra & Baalbek)
1762 Stuart & Revett (Antiqu of Athens),
1764 Adam (Spalato)
1767 Major (Paestum), 1812 Percier & Fontaine
• Bros Adam (Rob † 92, James † 94)
(interiors, pompeian decor)
• mahogany furniture 1720 oil painting on façades
Chippendale 1709 – 79
• engravings Angelo Pergolesi (Lond. 77 92)
1808 Ostendorf (Vitruvius Britannicus)

London

Fitzroy Square
Stratford Place
Adelphi Terrace
52 1835 Regent str
Carlton House
1838 Nat Gallery
80 1867 Brit Mus

— Flaxman 1755 1826
• 1810 Elgin Marbles in Brit Mus
• (Constable † 1837 Turner † 1851)
— Phys •
Herschel † 1822
Mesmer † 1805
• James Watt † 1819
Henry (1803)
• Dalton (1862)
• J Pr Joule (1850)
• MacAdam † 1836 roads faces
Don ells • Stephenson railways
— Medic •
• Withering † 1799
• Jenner † 1823
Malthus † 1834 (1798 Princ of Populat on)
• Bell † 1842

pre-romanticism

Scotl 1761 - Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry
• Macpherson 1760 63 • Ossian
Beattie † 1803, Burns † 1796
Engl • Young † 65,
Hervey † 58
Gray † 71
Goldsmith † 74
— Cowper † 1800 Crabbe † 832
— • Will Blake 1757 1827
1737 Brown (monograph, Turner)
1815 Carter (Anc Archit)
1826 Britton (Cathed)
• 1712 English garden (Pope, Walpole)
1758 Kew Gardens (London)

— Louis XVI 1774 – 93
Gabriel † 82 Ledoux † 1806 Chalgrin † 11

Paris S. Sulpice (Servandoni)
Hôt du Peyrou 65 70 d Hal l'ngl d Ues
Place d l Concorde 43 70
• Pantheon 64 90 (Soufflot † 80)
Madeleine 63 (1809 42)
Odeon 79 Hot Thelusson Gapucins
S. Philippe du Roule 68 84 Ledoux
Arc de Triomphe 1806 36
Bourse 808
• David † 1825 (Coronation of the emperor)
Prud hon 1758 1823
Isabey 1767 1855
Gerard † 837 Gros † 35
Guerin † 833
• Ingres † 867
Firmin Didot print
Percier & Fontaine (empire)
— Falconet † 91
• Houdon 1741 1828
David d'Angers † 1856
Pradier † 1852, Rude † 54
[Barye & Carpeaux † 27]

— • Bernardin d St Pierre
1787 Paul et Virginie
• Chateaubriand (1848)
— 1782 Auber Berlioz
1803 1805 Cherubini Paris
— Medic
• Cuvier † 832
• Corvisart † 21 percussion
• Laennec † 26 auscultation
Larrey † 42
• Braille † 52 (writing for the blind)
Dupuytren † 35
• Magendie † 55
— physic Montgolfiers (balloon)
Coulomb (1785)
Gay Lussac (1802)
Biot & Savard (1820)
Carnot † 23
Laplace † 27
• Fresnel † 27

Zenith of classical lit. 1750 – 1830
Louis XVI empire
1789 revolution
1804 – '14 routes nationales
classicismo

Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Cambridge, Oxford, Bath, London, Strawberry Hill, Amsterdam, Leiden, Berlin, Breslau, Warsaw, Königsberg (Gilly), • Emmanuel Kant, Danzig, Copenhagen, Kiel, Hamburg, Weimar, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Munich, Regensburg, Prague, Vienna, Paris, Versailles, Trianon, Compiègne, Rennes, Bordeaux, Lyons, Montpellier, Strasbg, Trier, Cologne, Bonn, Zurich, Geneva, Coppet, Neuchâtel, Besançon, Turin, Genoa, Como, Milan, Venice, Parma, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Pompei, Herculaneum, Ajaccio, Madrid, Toledo, Aranjuez, Lisbon, Helsingfors, St Petersburg, Peterhof, Tsarskoe Selo

1809 russ an
Engel † 40
Bellman † 1795
Oxenstierna † 1818
Thorild † 1808
Lidner † 1793
Franzen † 1847
• Glinka 1804 57

• Sturm u. Drang 1775
Painters Carstens † 94, Koch † 1839, Rethel † 1859, Cornelius † 67, Weinbrenner (arch) 1826, Ans. Feuerbach † 1880
• Fichte 1762 1814 • Schelling 1775 1854
Schinkel † 1841 Neue Wache 1816, Schauspielhaus, Altes Mus. '24 • Bau Akadem.

— 1806 Burgtor
Metternich, prince de Ligne
Cl Hofbauer † 1820
Zach Werner
Gran
Csokonai Vitez † 1805

— Louis I 1786 1868

Abildgaard † 1809 painter
Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770 1844) (see Denmark)
Hansen
Bindesbøll
— Ewald † 1781
Baggesen † 1826
Oersted † 1851

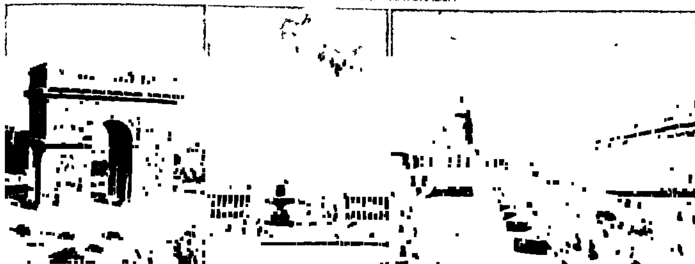
1769 b Napoleon Bonaparte Ajaccio
1797 Thorvaldsen
Canova 1757 1822
S Pantaleon, S Roch
• Piazza del Popolo (Valadier † 39)
• S Paul (fire 1823) (Poletti † 69 & Vespignani)
S Franc di Paola
teatro S Carlo
Floridiani, Niccolini
— 1785 Architett civile (Milizia † 98)
1786 Goethe's Italian tour
1827 • Foscolo
• Galvani † 1798 • Volta † 1827
— Musi Cherubini 1842
Bellini 801 35

Montpellier
• Bichat † 1802
Goya † 1828
1815 Tauromachia
1810 13 Desastres de la guerra
Caprichos

CLASSICISM
Louis XVI, "Empire"
& pre-Romanticism
1760-1814 ('30)

pre 1790 frontiers (for post 1914 frontiers cf map 42)
French Empire (1810)
Satellite States
States allied to Napoleon
Independent states
Russian Empire

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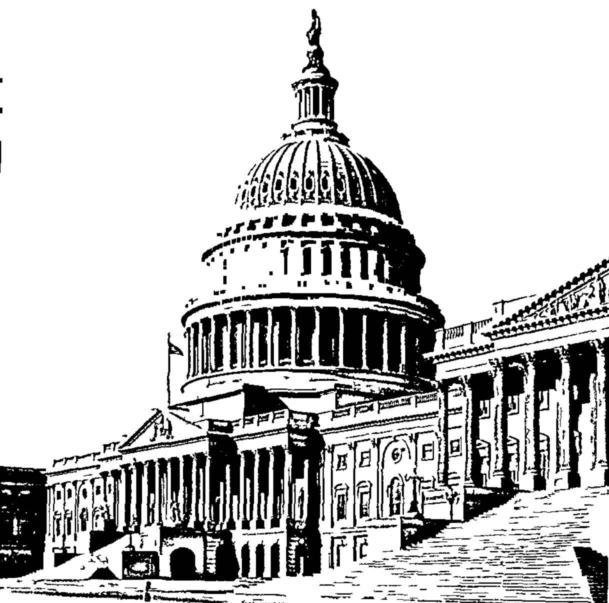




The Neo-Classicism of 1770 1830 was the product of the theories of archaeologists though it appeared to be a return to the tranquil grandeur of the Ancients The Paris of Napoleon and the St Petersburg of Alexander I are neo-cla[illegible] Delacroix is the leading figure in the romantic painting which succeeded Neo-Classicism Corot, one of the first masters of modern tonal

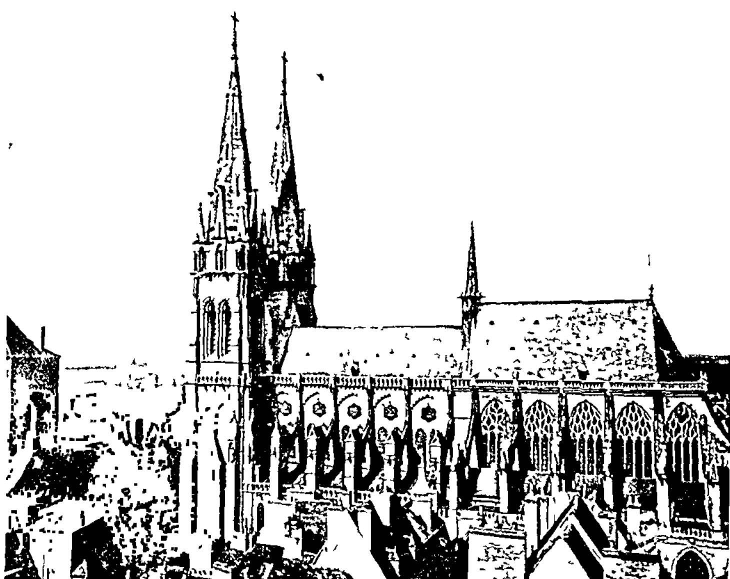
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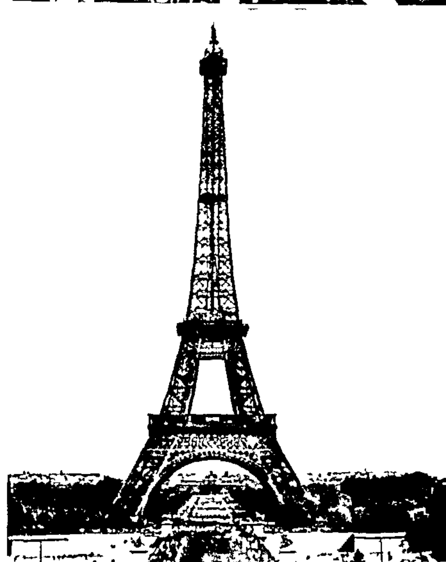
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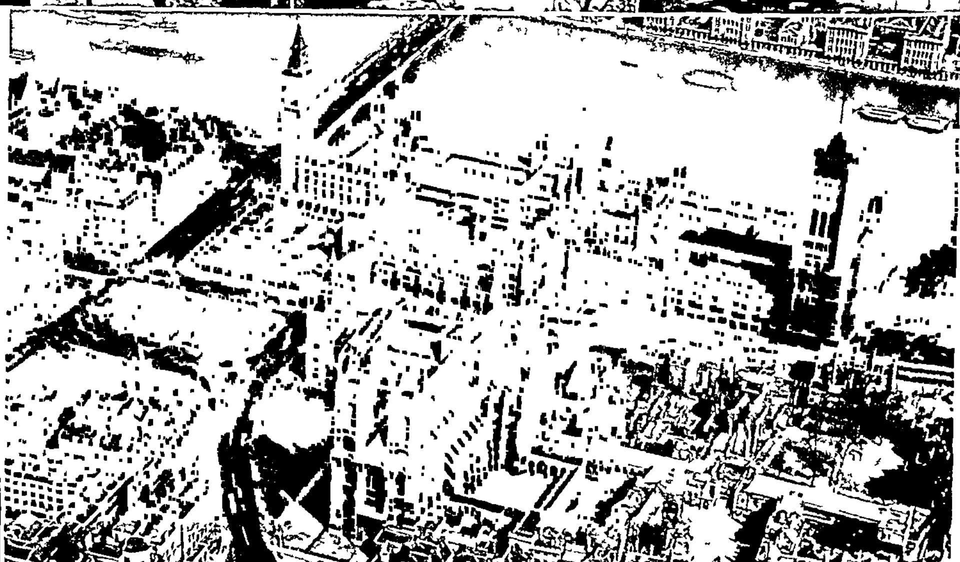






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Though rich in works of art, the XIXth century does not possess a distinctive style of its own. The great artists go their own way, and until the coming of impressionism the rest have nothing to offer but sentimental presentations of nature and history. **929/** Rude, La Marseillaise. On the Arc de Triomphe, Paris **930/** Washington, the Capitol (neo-classical). **931/** Carpeaux, The Dance. On the façade of the Opéra, Paris (1868). **932/** Moulins, cathedral *Choir in flamboyant Gothic*, ca. 1445-1507, towers and nave in neo-Gothic by Millet, XIXth cent. **933/** Puvis de Chavannes, Childhood of St Genevieve. Paris, Pantheon. **934/** New York, Church of St. Patrick (neo-Gothic). **935/** Paris, Eiffel Tower. 300 metres high, iron. 1887-1889 **936/** London, Houses of Parliament One of the principal works of the English Gothic Revival. On the left, the tower of Big Ben; foreground, Westminster Abbey. [cf. maps 42, 47, 52]



The appearance of the Impressionists at Paris ca 1870 marks the beginning of what may be called modern painting They revealed entirely new aspects of the visible, and it is to them that we owe the affirmation of purely pictorial values 937/ Edouard Manet Un atel er aux Batignolles Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume 938/ Renoir, L après midi à Wargemont', Berlin 939/ Degas, L Absinthe Paris Musée du Jeu de Paume 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert' Private collection 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano' 942/ Paul Gauguin, Portrait de Femme Private collection 943/ Georges Seurat Le Jardin' (detail) 944/ Vincent van Gogh, 'Portrait of an Officer , painted at Arles Otterlo (Netherlands), Kröller Muller Museum *The whole fin-de-siècle comes to life in the work of the French Impressionists, in this they are comparable to the naturalistic novelists, for both reproduce the purely exterior aspect of reality*

[cf map 47]

The reproductions which accompany the map of the Netherlands (map 37) in the XVIIth century are almost all taken from paintings. Yet none the less they give a fairly representative idea of Dutch culture, for in the Netherlands of the XVIIth century everything is painted – and for preference the very subjects that were elsewhere neglected. In the eyes of posterity the Dutch of the period created the modern art of tonal painting. But contemporary travellers were already impressed by the excellent paintings which hung in every house: pictures were in fact considered a perfectly usual form of financial investment.

This small land with its antiquated political structure and its up to date
811-15 business methods had just gained its independence. It was an agglomeration of towns closely juxtaposed with a network of lakes, broads and canals. A greater part of it lay below sea-level, and though protected by its dykes, it was under the constant menace of the sea. But it earned its livelihood from the sea as well – from merchant shipping, shipbuilding, and trade in goods from the Netherlands Indies. It was a land without a court, without prelates, and without much of an aristocracy. It was ostensibly governed by 'Colleges of Regents', but in fact by the patrician merchant families from the province of Holland and above all from Amsterdam.

The court of the Archdukes sparkled at Brussels. The religious orders built
834/6 Baroque churches which had none the less certain Gothic tendencies. In an
832-7 Antwerp strangled by the closing of the Scheldt estuary Rubens painted his
801-7 altarpieces and won for himself his European reputation. Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and Delft saw the work of Rembrandt, Hals, Steen and Vermeer, and
840-60 countless others – painters who won scant recognition from their contemporaries and several of whom died in destitution. The men of the moment
853 were the *savants* Christiaan Huygens, Anthony van Leeuwenhoek (who did not know any foreign languages), and the Leiden philologists and Hugo Grotius, one of the creators of international law.

The country often suffered from bitter party strife: Oldenbarneveldt and
854 John de Witt lost their lives, and Grotius died in exile at Rostock. Yet on the other hand it was an asylum for dissenters. Not only did the Dutch receive their co-religionists the Huguenots, but Descartes and Bayle also lived in Holland for many years; as for books, what was forbidden in Paris was printed by Elzevier in Leiden or Amsterdam.

The rôle of the Republic in power politics was but brief. But it played a much greater rôle in the international money market, and it was the only country that never went bankrupt. It occupied an even more significant position in the field of colonization, especially in the Netherlands Indies, and it was a pioneer in scientific research. As for philosophy, Spinoza, though rejected by his Jewish community, had a European reputation.

But the lasting glories of the Golden Age in the Low Countries are its cities and its paintings. Amsterdam, ringed round with its three wide canals, was built on a scale that had nothing to rival it, and was something unique in itself. In its luxurious layout, its imposing houses, its cleanliness and its innumerable paintings, it amazed even the Venetian ambassadors who were themselves accustomed to the luxury of the City of the Doges. But the Venetians were also astonished by the smaller cities and towns, with their humpbacked bridges, leafy canals, tall and narrow decorative gables, churches with whitewashed interiors filled with funereal monuments and inscriptions, and carillons tinkling from church towers that were copied as far away as Danzig and Copenhagen. There were of course no monasteries, and the Catholics had to go to church surreptitiously, and paid dearly for their precarious liberty. But the country was rich in almshouses, hospitals and charitable institutions, and nowhere did people go so readily to church, clasping their bibles and hymnbooks.

It is difficult to say what is the distinctive feature of the paintings, the architecture, and the modest and very little known contemporary literature of the northern Low Countries (Vondel, of course, belongs to European Baroque). Perhaps it is the same characteristic which distinguishes the Dutch landscape from all others – its amazing combination of simplicity and subtlety. To realize this fully one has only to compare a Rubens landscape with its overcrowded foreground and high horizon, with such refined yet simple things as the country scenes of Ruysdael and the town views from shipboard of Van Goyen. The interiors, still lifes and portraits were also subjects well suited to this characteristic quality of the Dutch masters.

The patrician patrons, however, preferred to see themselves in trainband uniform surrounded by their amateur comrades-in-arms, they loved to decorate their walls with sea pieces depicting warships or with interiors rendered in minutely realistic detail. But they could hardly be expected to understand the solitary genius of Rembrandt.

The Low Countries are wide and formless, the wind blows without ceasing and the painter sees more of heaven than of earth. But no other horizon offers so many subtle silhouettes, and to see the sunlight scudding across the ground between heavy clouds, bathing each part in turn with its fleeting rays, means more to a Dutchman than all the Baroque scenery of the South. And it is to such things that the Dutch masters have opened the eyes of the West.

IV

FROM EUROPEAN TO ATLANTIC WORLD

THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE

A landscape bathed in afternoon sunlight: on the horizon the silhouette of a town with Baroque cupolas nestling among Gothic spires and ringed round with high walls and gates; a chateau built by a French architect with a terrace leading to a French ornamental garden with its formal lake and fountain playing in the air; along the bumpy highway the bewigged and bepowdered aristocrats (who have almost certainly read Voltaire and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*) riding with their crinolined ladies to some small court where presently, under the chandeliers of the Rococo assembly room, they will dance the slow and stately minuet – that is the sort of picture that everyone has of the Age of Voltaire: a secure, frivolous, and wholly French epoch (map 40).

But what *was* taken seriously in those days? First of all Reason, and then natural, primitive Feeling. In other words, they first read the *Encyclopédie*, and followed up (to a greater extent than is commonly supposed) the rapid development of the natural sciences with private experiments in their own laboratories. Later in the century, under the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, they came back with enthusiasm and conviction to the same Nature, but along the easier way of Feeling, of primitive Feeling unsullied by civilization.

Cold criticism and warm natural feeling are the two spiritual poles of the XVIIIth century. That is what lies behind the elegant, witty and superficial decoration of the Rococo interiors and behind the sophisticated conversation.

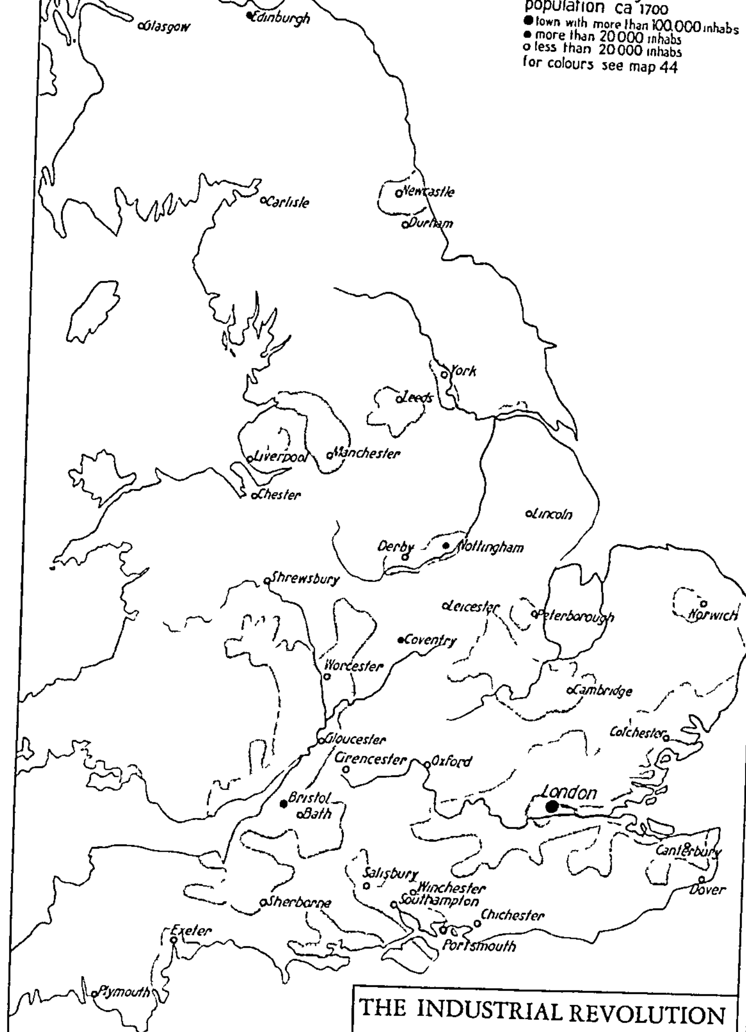
An examination of the literature of the period and of the atmosphere of the salons soon reveals that the authority of the Church, though externally so brilliant and capable of achieving such architectural magnificence, has been undermined by the cream of this intellectual world centred on France. The Age of Enlightenment has no longer any interest in divine mysteries, or even in the demonic element in human nature, it is no longer worried by guilt or sin. Sin is simply a lack of forethought and can be cured by 'reasonableness'. What aroused the enthusiasm of the *beaux esprits* was a world without Revelation, well ordered and neat like a park of Le Nôtre, and clearly comprehensible to a rational thinking man. Nature was surrendering her secrets one by one to the researchers – Franklin had attracted lightning to his lightning-conductor, and men were soon to tell of the discoveries of Galvani and Volta – and this Nature was thus visibly governed by a rational and sympathetic Providence that made nothing too difficult for anyone. In the XVIth century a number of leading spirits had inwardly broken with the Church, but now the rupture was with Christian Revelation. The miracles of the Bible and all the piety of previous generations was set aside as a mere delusion. At the most, they held to a 'natural' religion, and to a belief in the immortality of the soul and the existence of a Supreme Being. A respect for religion, which is still always related to the absolutist state, was certainly a point in one's favour in society, and 'enlightened despots' like Joseph II protected religion and morality with strong legislation. But the sort of piety that was tolerated came not from the prophetic word but from the feeling heart – not the piety of John Wesley and St Paul of the Cross, but of Dr Johnson and *The Vicar of Wakefield*. It is certainly the flourishing period of later pietism, especially in the evangelical lands, but the stress has everywhere shifted on to the subjective, edifying and

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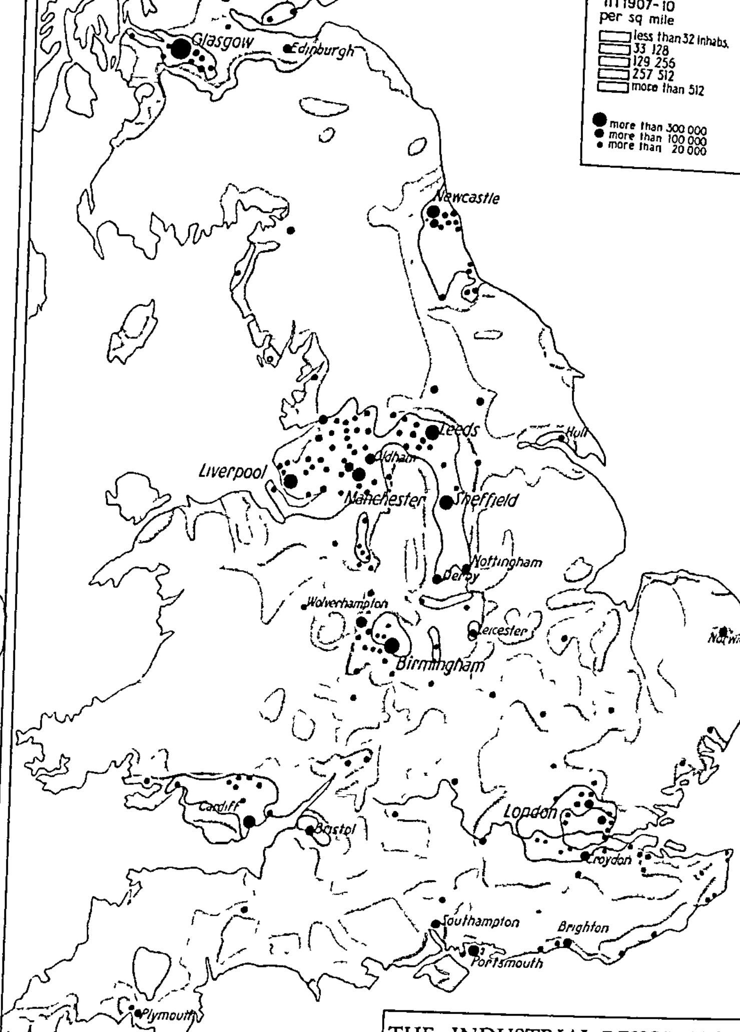
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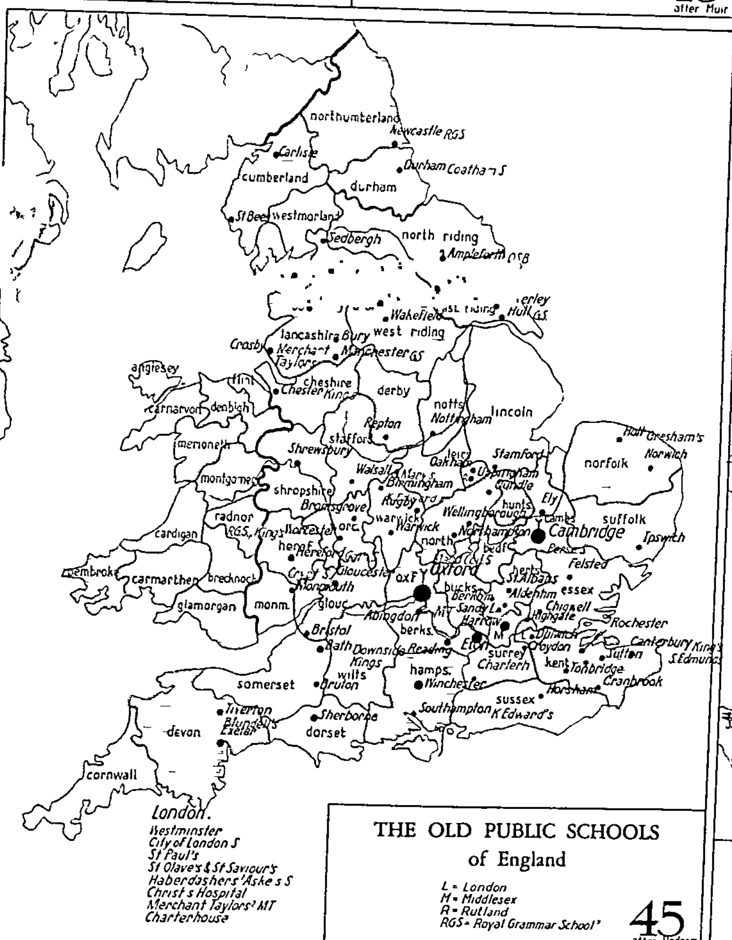
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THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
England in 1710
43
after Muir



THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
England in 1910
44



THE OLD PUBLIC SCHOOLS
of England

L = London
M = Middlesex
R = Rutland
RGS = Royal Grammar School"

45
after Rodgers



UNIVERSITY TOWNS
and the earliest railways

—1845 —1848 —1860
University towns
Technical "Hochschule"

46

reasonable aspects of practical faith But there was none the less a hidden undercurrent of feeling that expressed itself in the writings of the men of the Enlightenment – against the Church with her feudal trappings and antiquated fables and later against the social abuses of the *Ancien Régime*

The new spirit of criticism and pure reasonableness came from England which slowly but surely overshadowed France in the realms of thought It was not for nothing that Voltaire stayed in England so long He gave to English ideas that attractive and inimitably witty French form which captivated not only the country gentry and merchant classes alike but also Frederick the Great at Sanssouci and Catherine II at Peterhof The thought of the XVIIIth century is dominated by deistic England thoroughly pragmatic and commercial and wholly concentrated on the practical France dominates taste and the world of books

From Lisbon to St Petersburg the ruling caste reads Voltaire Rousseau Condorcet and Montesquieu and perhaps even Le Sage Beaumarchais and Laclos But the spiritual fathers of the *Encyclopédie* are ultimately Locke and David Hume and the work of Say is unthinkable without the Scotsman Adam Smith author of *The Wealth of Nations* At the end of the century *Immanuel Kant the lonely philosopher of Königsberg writes those decisive* works in which he determines the boundaries of rational thought and inaugurates the modern critique of pure reason He also creates the Kantian categorical moral imperative which was to mould the consciences of so many serious thinkers and academics in the following century and was even to provide the moral basis of the French universities

The modern world in which man has at last become adult or as Kant *puts it has at last the courage to live entirely by his reason begins in fact* during the XVIIIth century One of the pioneers of medical science Boerhaave of Leiden considered a good doctor as a mechanic and the patient was for him a case to be considered purely as a physical and biochemical problem That is symptomatic of the type of Western culture which now prevails science concentrates its attention on what is immediately observable and mensurable in other words on secondary considerations Specialization now begins but specialization in all its forms can only deal with a part and always the same part of the mystery of reality The feeling for the hidden breadth and depth of human reality in its totality passed away unnoticed Scientific specialization was achieving spectacular results as for instance the new detailed knowledge of the human body and of the general nature of the structure of matter and the amazing development of physics and chemistry In the light of these achievements the more hidden and deeper moments of human existence were lost sight of The XVIIIth century begins the making of huge inventories of factual knowledge and this same work dominates the XIXth century In no other epoch has man become so much a *homo faber* a maker of instruments the technical era is already in sight and technical discoveries follow one another with the startling regularity of a chain reaction Scientific method is everything and it is both positivistic and mechanistic Men learned to know the outward mechanism of nature and of man but the rest of nature and what is worse the rest of man fell outside their field of vision Slowly but surely modern man comes to find himself in a mechanistic world picture into which he himself does not fit his inner nature makes him too big for a mechanistic world It is the effort to adapt himself to and to dominate that world picture which explains the words and deeds the illusory belief in inevitable progress the success and the inescapable disappointment of modern man For it is today after a hundred and fifty years that we can see the final result of the process that began before 1800 But where is the opposite pole the sensibility of the XVIIIth century?

6 For a long time it seemed as if there would be no end to Baroque It achieved an incomparable finale in the South German lands in the residences petty palaces churches and monasteries of Bavaria Saxony Austria and Switzerland (the monuments can be seen at a glance on maps 38 and 39) South Germany recovered eventually from the apathy following the Thirty Years War and took her place again in the West with her buildings and her music

Between 1583 and 1660 there was nothing much of any architectural importance After 1660 the Italian architects begin and around 1700 come the first great German architects and at the same time the first great German musicians Then come the two most valuable things in this period the music of Handel and Bach in the Lutheran North and in the Catholic South the imposing churches and palaces of Fischer Prandauer Balthasar Neumann the Masters of Vorarlberg and the stucco-workers of Wessobrunn In this land without literature and without great sculptors and painters the German genius lived again in its sacred cantatas its fugues and its magnificent conceptions of space Poor in ideas but rich in deeds this generation gave their work the most fantastic and fanciful Rococo finish their interiors were the most daring and their town planning the most fearless of the whole Baroque era Italian Baroque can be described as being at first sober and dynamic and then after Bernini picturesque and powerfully graphic French Baroque which is rightly called French classicism is a lively combination of grandeur taste and comfort South German Baroque is in the words of Pinder a triumph of fantasy over prosaic convenience

Around 1760 the tide begins everywhere to turn It is then that the rationalistic pole exerts its fullest influence and the stream of brilliantly stylized emotions is sicklied o'er with unimpassioned reason

Classicism At the same time that the star of sentimental feeling for Nature rose with Jean Jacques Rousseau and Marie Antoinette played at shepherdesses in the Petit Trianon Europe began to read the works of Macpherson *and his followers in which sombre heroes mused by Gothic ruins and nursed* their turbulent passions amidst the wild Scots scenery Yet contemporaneously with these manifestations of Pre Romanticism there appeared stronger than ever the ideal of Antiquity (map 41) after the hectic interiors of Louis XV came the sober style of Louis XVI There was now a sudden desire for the noble simplicity and quiet grandeur of the Ancients There was a spontaneous reaction against meaningless excess strained effects Baroque bombast and polite airs and graces the Enlightenment had triumphed in the arts as well Watteau and Boucher were now out of fashion and David was the man of the moment Unbelievable as it may seem in the age of Tiepolo and Goya the German Mengs was considered at Rome to be the greatest painter and men listened with attention to the archeologist Winckelmann who expounded the theory of the new taste

The leaders of the French Revolution (who had destroyed the monarchy nobility and clergy and enthroned the *bourgeoisie*) saw in the new style the perfect expression not only of Roman civic virtues but also of natural reason it was the ideal matrix for the new free equal and fraternal *citoyens* Thus it was that classicism provided the backcloth for the Revolution By a strange irony of fate classicism also provided the basis for the Empire style of the Napoleonic and of the Russian Empire and also from 1814 till 1848 for the official style of the reactionary governments which served in most countries to suppress the effects of the Revolution Thus it was that large parts of Paris and the whole of St Petersburg became neo-classical The centre of London was neo-classic even before 1800 for the new taste which received its definitive form in Paris came ultimately from XVIIIth century England and Scotland where we can see its achievements in Bath and Edinburgh

The years before and after 1800 mark the height of the German revival in music and literature It is the period of Mozart Haydn and Beethoven and also of Herder Goethe and Schiller These great figures stand far above the cultural movements which they themselves serve to determine They point forward to Romanticism and Positivism and backwards to the age of natural reason that was passing – what links Goethe for instance with classicism is his deep feeling for Antiquity Even more than in the days of Nithart Durer and Luther have the German lands reached a peak of cultural achievement A second was immediately to follow with the advent of the Romantic Era

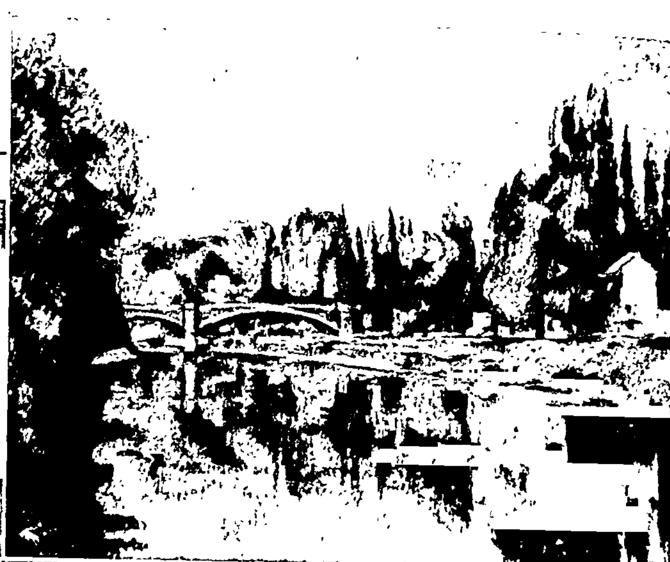
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The culture of the XIXth century embracing with its impressive span the technical and intellectual developments of virtually the entire world can best be described in general terms as a bourgeois culture

The leading caste is no longer aristocracy or clergy but the liberal middle class *It is they who control the spiritual and intellectual life of the epoch*, even when they are in opposition in politics and find themselves ruled over by equally talented conservatives In the France of Louis Philippe of the Second Empire and of the Third Republic in Victorian England in the Italy of the Risorgimento and in the Germany of Bismarck it is the politician the big businessman the gentleman the novelist the engineer and the intellectual who are the best representatives of the spirit of the age It is they who have built that Western World which seemed till 1914 so secure self-confident and progressive

During the whole of the century the rest of the world seemed to remain passive It is the Western businesslike adventurous bourgeois (whether *liberal or reactionary*) type who now predominates *He believes in the rights* of man in progress in himself and usually vaguely in God but not in the Church He leaves his mark on the bureaucratic and conservative Russian Empire through the instrumentality of an entirely Westernized Russian ruling class In the rapidly expanding U S A (map 52) it is he who conquers and exploits the whole continent from East to West It is he who transforms the old colonial Spanish Empire into present-day Latin America, that agglome





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The work of art is certainly no outcast in the technical era. On the contrary, works of art have never been so self-conscious, sophisticated and individual. In the figurative arts reality, including human reality, reaches a point of extreme disintegration. What is sought for is either pure expression or pure form, and the tension lies between these two poles. The results are usually clever and yet elementary and strident - all primitive and preclassical art from the past is an object of admiration. The works reproduced above belong to the period of transition from late impressionism to the contemporary cosmopolitan art dominated by Picasso and Matisse. **945/** Cézanne, Still Life (1886). **946/** Cézanne, Landscape. **947/** Cézanne, Portrait of Gustave Geffroy. **948/** Vincent van Gogh, Garden at St.-Remy (1889). **949/** Picasso, Woman Reading. Grenoble. **950/** Rodin, Balzac. **951/** Matisse, Young Woman. **952/** Braque, Still Life (1914).

[cf. map 47]



The architecture of the technical era is essentially functional though tempered by decoration that is sometimes 'primitive', but more usually refined and succe[illegible] Learning University of Pittsburgh (U S A) a neo-Gothic skyscraper of 42 storeys. 954/ Milan, façade of the central station. 955/ Downtown, Washi[illegible] Centre Apex Building seat of the Federal Trade Commission 956/ Bordeaux, Stadium, in reinforced concrete, architect M de Welles. 957 R[illegible] (1930) architects J A. Brinkman and L C van de Vlugt 958/ Paris, Cité Universitaire, le Pavillon Suisse architect Le Corbusier (1933). 959 Paris [illegible] decorated by himself 960/ Stockholm Golden Room of the Town Hall designed by Ragnar Östberg (1911 1923).

ration of typically Western bourgeois states ruled alternately by conservative and liberal It is he who turns South Africa and a corner of Australia into outposts of Western European life, and who makes his appearance as a dominant force in the ancient and apparently passive and unimpressionable civilization of India and China And it is he who is imitated in everything by the Japanese

The spiritual and intellectual development of the West itself, the source of this amazing expansion, can be summarized under two contrasting heads· 'Romanticism and Idealism' and 'Positivism'

By Romanticism we mean the sudden emotional reaction against the coldly rationalistic culture of the XVIIIth century, and especially against the artificialities of Neo-Classicism, with its constant hankering after antique norms and rigid rules, most of which in fact went back no further than the Grand Siècle Romanticism was an explosion of irrational feelings, expressed in a literature that, though spontaneous and imaginative, was written with all the discipline and verbal virtuosity of the previous era This went hand in hand with a sincere and emotional concern for everything that had been despised by neo-classic culture the national past, the Middle Ages, Gothic, ancient balladry, and even the poetic treasures of the Catholic Church The consequences of
932 this were incalculable Cologne cathedral was finished in the style of the XIIIth century, the French cathedrals were restored, the old epics and ballads were re-edited and indeed the whole of the past was reconstructed in the light of historic criticism The West owes so much to Romanticism the Oxford Movement, that amazing return of the Anglican élite to the traditional *pietas anglicana*, the Gothic Revival, which was to cover England with neo-Gothic town halls, churches railway stations and Parliament buildings, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the group of artists who sought to return to the age 'before Raphael i e to the Quattrocento We may also attribute to Romanticism the revival of classic monasticism, beginning with the foundation of Solesmes by Dom Guéranger (there were already enough modern congregations without the obligations of choral duties dedicated to education, the missions and other charitable works) It brings with it too the emergence of national literatures in all the smaller lands and minority groups (in Provence, Bohemia, the Balkans Finland and the Baltic States), there is a sincere admiration for the popular and the primitive in almost all great countries (in Russia this takes the form of Slavophilism), and there is in general a new outlook on history that is free from any preconceptions The debt of the West to Romanticism is indeed impressive

By Idealism a concept related to Romanticism, one refers at this period to the great philosophical systems of German Idealism that are associated with the names of Fichte Schelling and Hegel Almost all the philosophers since Descartes had sacrificed the human person to thought, and had restricted reality to what could be immediately understood The Idealists, and especially Hegel, certainly cannot be accused of this, but they in their turn sacrificed the individual 'I' to an all embracing system What survives of that system today is not the system of the Idealists, but the 'dialectical method' which Karl Marx and others used to construct a diametrically antithetical system of historical materialism

By Positivism, the hall-mark proper of the XIXth century, we mean, in the strict philosophical sense, an experimental philosophy in which the only valid facts are those which can be immediately and tangibly 'experienced', and whatever exists outside them (or 'transcends' them) is to be rejected as uncertain, dubious or even non-existent In the broader sense of the term, Positivism is a limited and precise attitude of mind that is hostile to any speculation outside the field of sense-perception, – an attitude which belongs, consciously or not, to the large majority of XIXth century scientists, specialists and non-specialists alike Science, with a capital 'S', is the abstraction which the best and greatest spirits of the age served with heroic self-denial and inexhaustible energy, and with the urgent desire to promote 'the health, wealth and happiness' of mankind

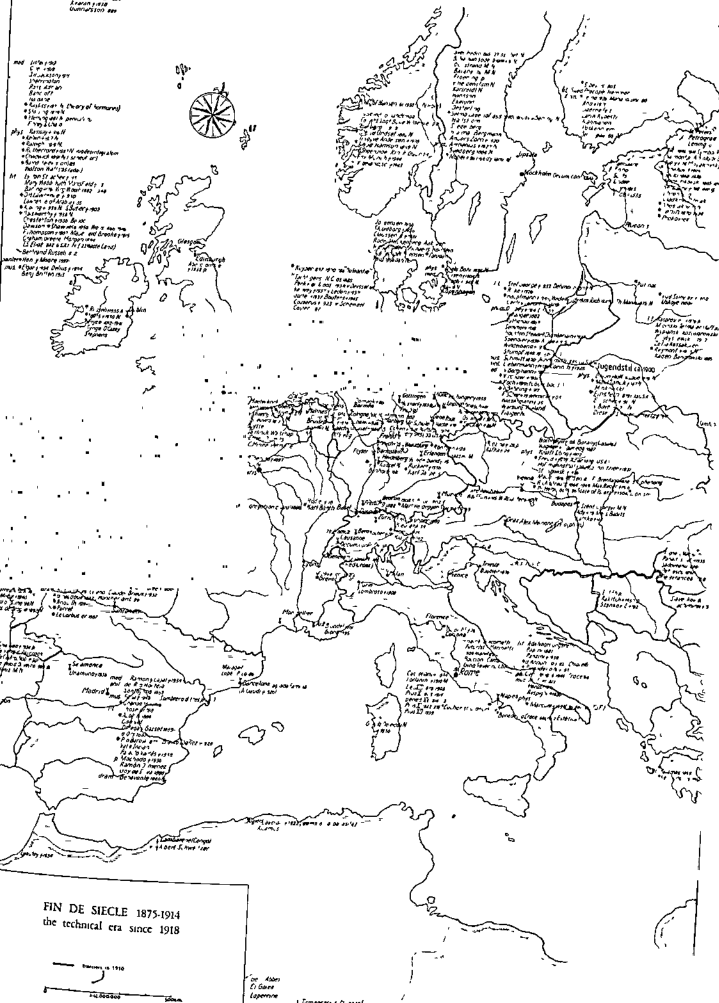
We can begin today to see the result of this extraordinary polarity Idealist philosophy is a thing of the past, though in an indirect way it has left as its legacy that inhuman monster, the totalitarian state Positivistic science, on the other hand, has provided humanity with control over the forces of nature and with the technical equipment of life. But the ancient Greeks, who only sought for principles and had little concern for the practical application of technique, might have observed that in their day *they* had only sought for knowledge of and not for power over, the cosmos, and they might well have considered in their heart of hearts that modern science was inhuman, one-sided and a manifestation of human presumption or *hubris* The ideal of the Greeks was *eudaimonia*, human felicity, and this was to be achieved through a combination of self-knowledge, self-discipline and knowledge of one's environment Western Man of the XIXth century, on the contrary, regularly sought for human happiness in the technical mastery over his environment The tradition of self-knowledge and self-discipline which came from his Christian and classical antecedents was certainly still in his blood, and this served as a temporary counterbalance. But this intense and consuming preoccupation with the mensurable, the mechanical, the material and, in effect, with the 'sub'-human, and his contempt for the old Helleno-Christian vision of mankind, did untold damage to his true humanity The consciousness of the unique quality of human values fell more and more into the background Western Man of this period, who was without any feeling for symbolism and mystery, had an almost blind faith in the scientific hypotheses of Darwin and the like His idea of the universe was reduced to that vaguely realized system of starry worlds which, for some obscure reason, has become part of every modern school curriculum.

What has now become so clear did not disquiet the West of a century ago Technical progress brought with it astonishing surprises, and the great disillusionment was not yet in sight In view of the limitations of contemporary intellectual life, the cultural harvest of the XIXth century is overwhelmingly great In the positive sciences every line of research in the historical and intellectual fields was followed up The last blank spaces on the map were filled in, the telescope opened up more and more distant worlds, the microscope revealed a more and more precise picture of the smallest particles of matter, and by the end of the century there appeared the sciences which concerned themselves solely with the social and psychical aspects of humanity. The two outstanding features in the arts are the development of the psychological novel and the intensity of contemporary musical life, the surveys attached to the individual lands (maps 42, 47, and 52) can be left to speak for themselves After the golden age of Romanticism – Byron, Goethe and Schiller, Victor Hugo, Manzoni, and Pushkin – and the flowering of naturalism – Balzac, Flaubert, Zola, Dickens and Tolstoy – the first marked reaction took place in France. The eternal attraction for symbolism and the feeling for the mysterious unity of reality makes its appearance once more in French poetry, and 937
later in French prose The great event around 1870 in music and the figurative 944
arts is Impressionism the detached and spontaneous reproduction of the fleeting moment It first arose in Paris, the unique and in a sense the only home of modern painting One of the things which the Impressionists – Manet, Renoir and Degas (to say nothing of the composers Debussy and Ravel) – have left us, is their unforgettable picture of the wonderful age of the first railway stations, plush furniture and gas-lamps After Impressionism came a series of reactions which all derived from a desire to make the elementary motif an independent entity All the '-isms' from Cézanne to the present 946-
day are concerned with this, one way or another They insist either on com- 949
position as an architectural basis, or on pure expression, or on elementary forms

What the age did not provide, however, was a new architectural style The primary explanation lies in the disappearance of the ecclesiastical and secular classes who before 1789 had been responsible for commissioning and executing new architectural works After the Revolution and the repeated anti-clerical movements, the court had no significance, and the Church very little, in the world of art – it is significant that between 1791 and 1802 and again between 1830 and 1835, more than four thousand abbeys and convents disappeared from the map of Europe Romanticism isolated the artist and threw him back on his own mental resources, and the patrons no longer had the unlimited resources and the great prestige of former times The new generation of patrons were in fact either beaurocrats or else belonged to the ruling class of business-men and contractors who certainly devoted their energies to large and solid buildings (museums, theatres, casinos and Crystal Palaces), but who were not outstanding for their good taste Bourgeois 'equality' had brought a great levelling-up, or rather levelling-down, of taste The dominating preoccupation with the past produced a crop of derivative motifs, and even the greatest architects of the Romantic era took their designs from the dead styles of the architectural handbooks neo-Gothic, neo-Classic, and finally even neo-Baroque 930

The rapid rise of industry also brought about a decline in the old traditions of craftsmanship, and even the conscious creation of a 'modern' craftsmanship by William Morris and Ruskin could not withstand the absolute predominance of mass-production And with mass-production there came also a mass-humanity

The Industrial Revolution in England (maps 43 and 44) typifies the great social symptom and pattern of human development in the XIXth century. The traditional rural population suddenly concentrated into a few industrial centres and, notwithstanding the strength of non-conformity, developed into a landless, unprotected and rebellious industrial proletariat At the very end of the Romantic Era, when the children of the rich were learning to sing their sentimental ballads and were reading the works of Scott and Jules Verne, the children of the poor were beginning to work in the factories and four million Irishmen emigrated to the United States The neo-Gothic churches and town halls rose among the sweatshops and the smoking chimneys of industrialized England, and not far off lay the slums of the proletariat.

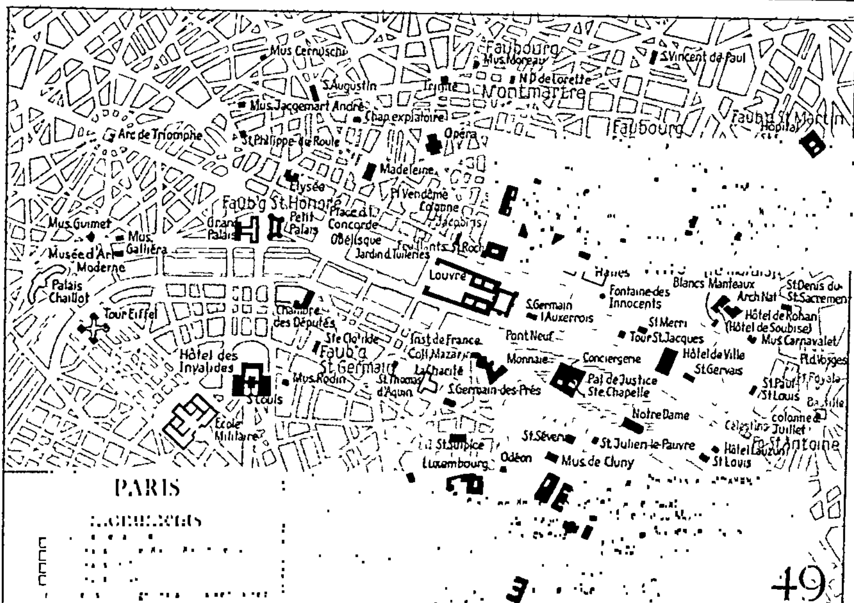


FIN DE SIECLE 1875-1914
the technical era since 1918

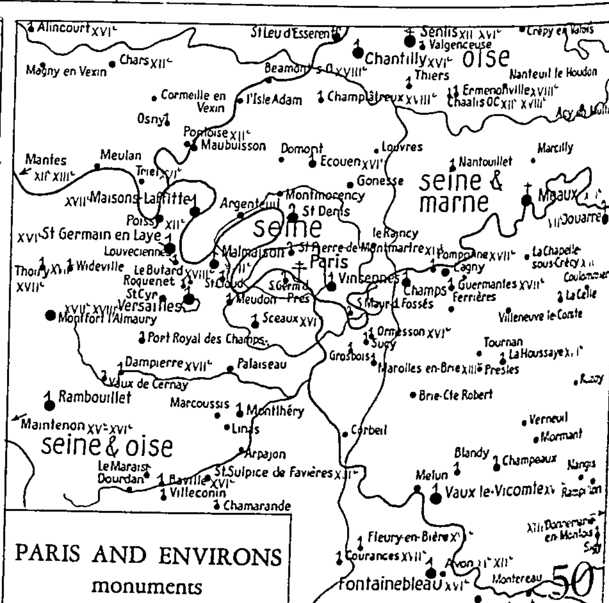
picardie
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nivernais
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touraine
anjou
poitou
aunis
angoumois
limousin
marche
bourbonnais
auvergne
forez
lyon
savoie
dauphiné
vivarais
velay
gévaudan
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FRANCE
monuments

48

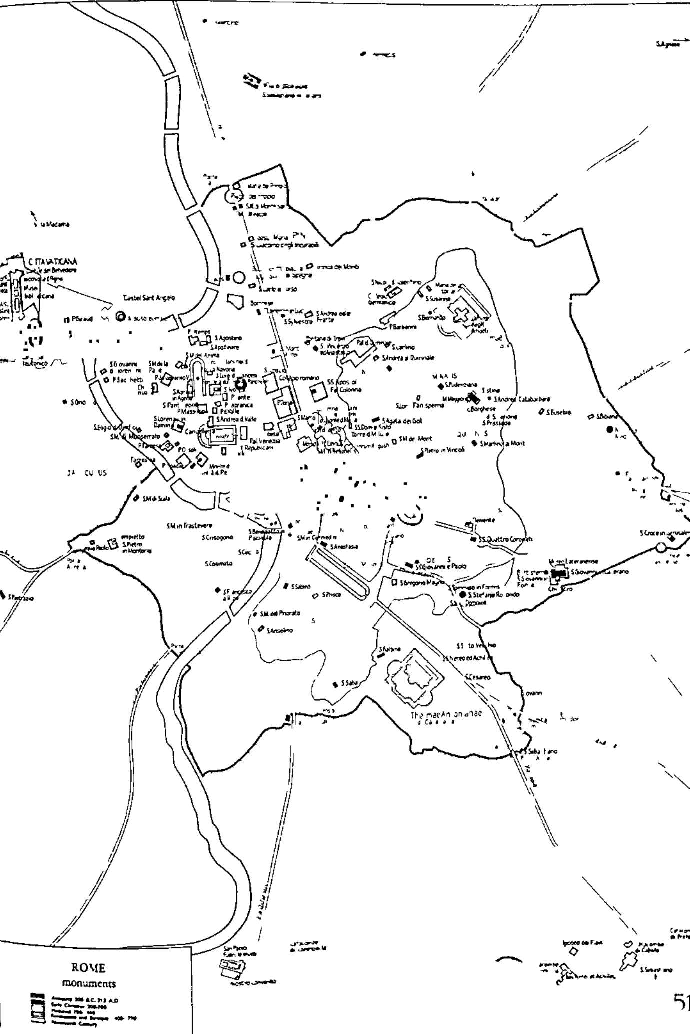


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PARIS AND ENVIRONS
monuments

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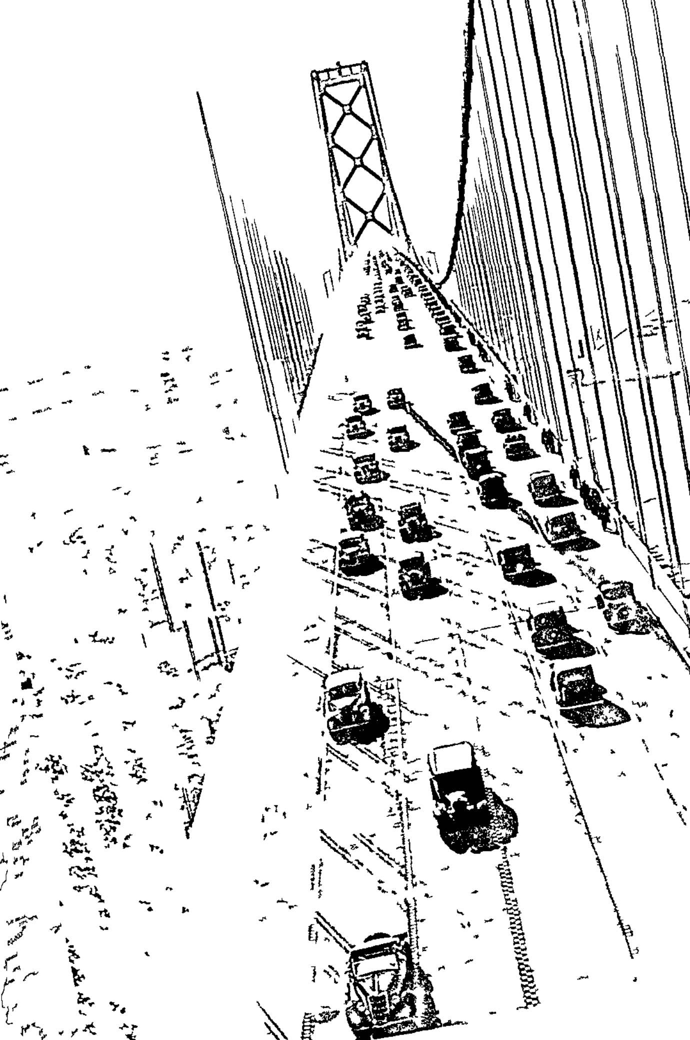

ROME
monuments
CITTA VATICANA
Castel Sant Angelo
S Agostino
S Apollinare
S M del Anima
S M in Trastevere
S Crisogono
S Cosimato
S Pietro in Montorio
S Sabina
S M del Priorato
S Anselmo
S Saba
S Balbina
S Cesareo
S Anastasia
S Gregorio Magno
SS Giovanni e Paolo
SS Quattro Coronati
S Stefano Rotondo
S Croce in Gerusalemme
S Andrea al Quirinale
S Bernardo
S Susanna
S Agata dei Got
S Pietro in Vincoli
S Pudenziana
S Prassede
S Eusebio
S Martino ai Monti
Col. Colonna
Pal Venezia
Collegio romano
S Andrea delle Fratte
S Silvestro
Fontana di Trevi
S Andrea d Valle
S Lorenzo in Damaso
S Maria di Scala
S Pietro in Montorio
S Sebastiano
S Paolo fuori le mura

THE NEW WORLD

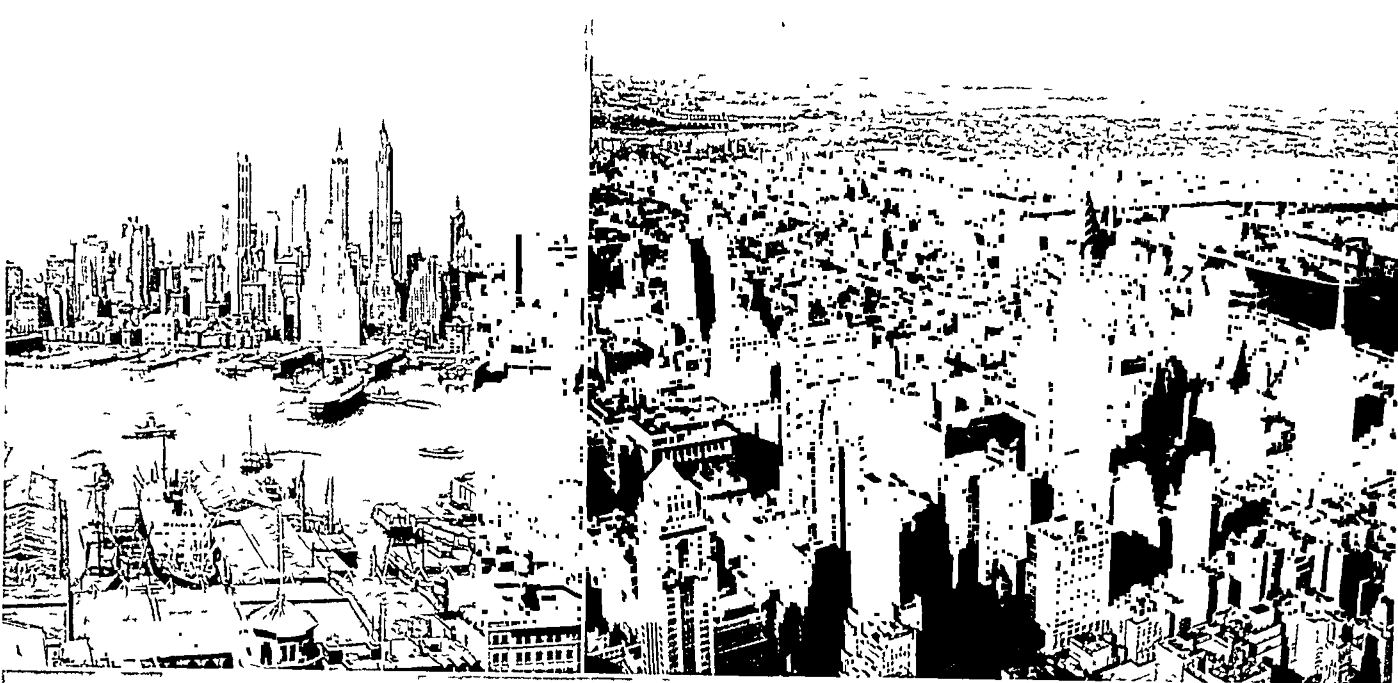
1519-1950

THE NORTH EASTERN STATES of the U.S.A.

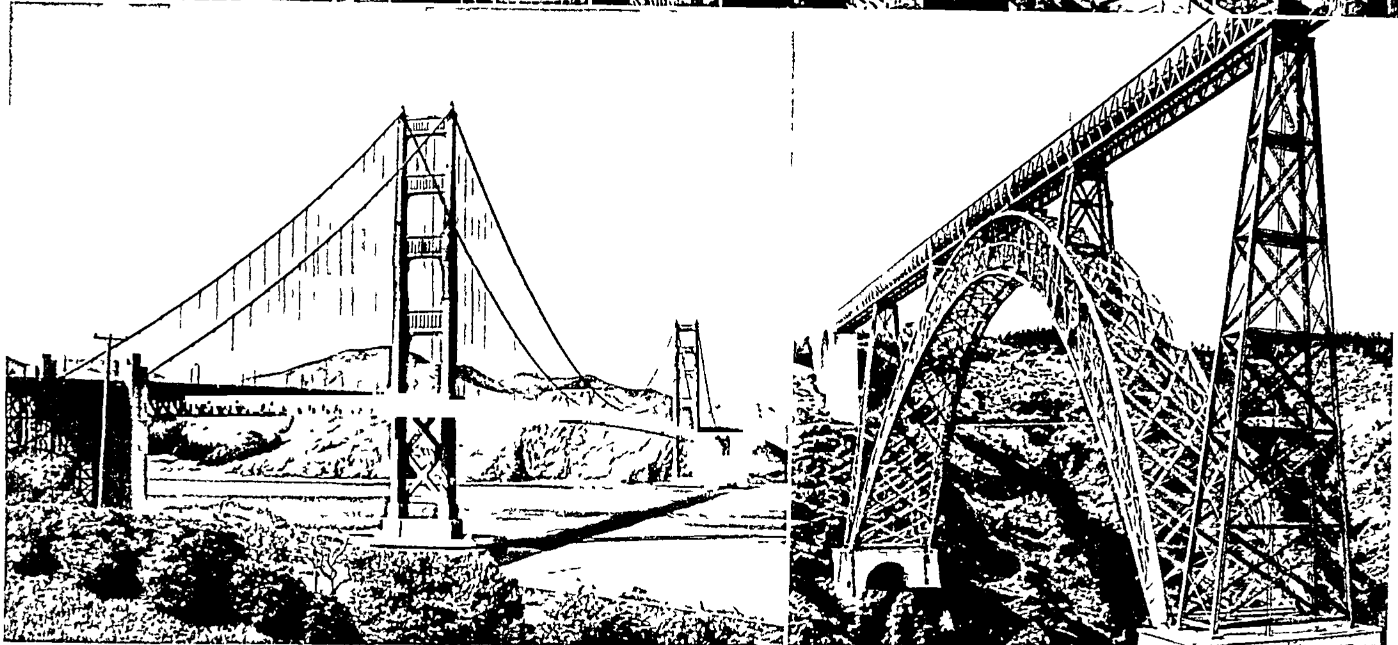
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newfoundland
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vermont
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virginia
washington
oregon
montana
idaho
n.dakota
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wyoming
nevada
utah
california
colorado
arizona
new mexico
nebraska
kansas
oklahoma
texas
minnesota
iowa
missouri
arkansas
louisiana
wisconsin
michigan
illinois
indiana
ohio
kentucky
tennessee
mississippi
alabama
georgia
n.carolina
s.carolina
florida
penns.
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mexico
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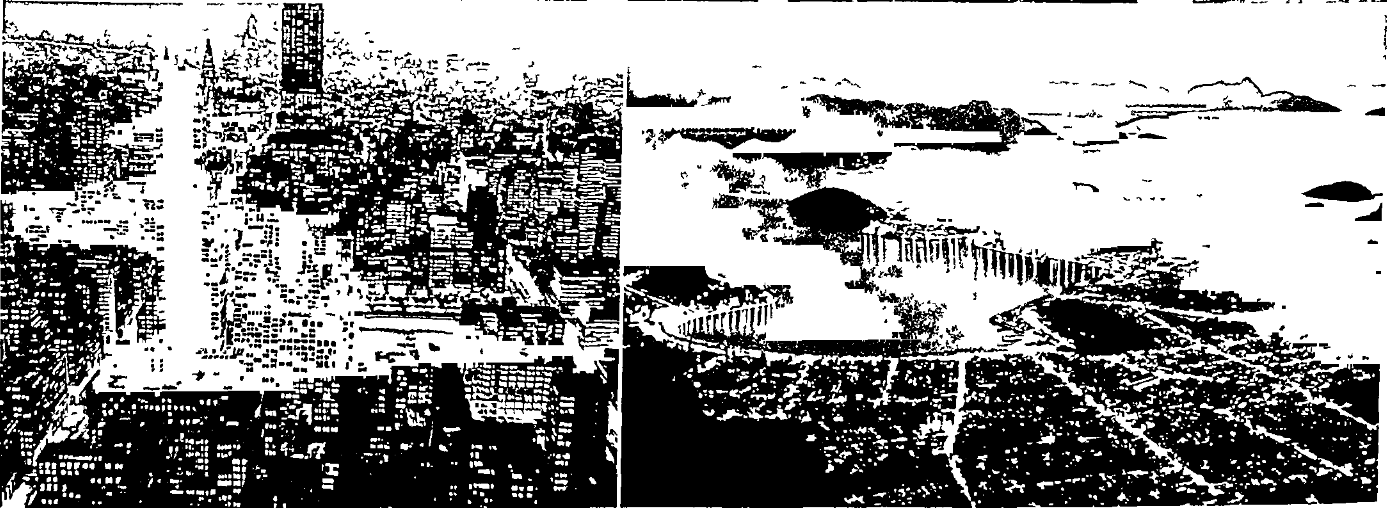
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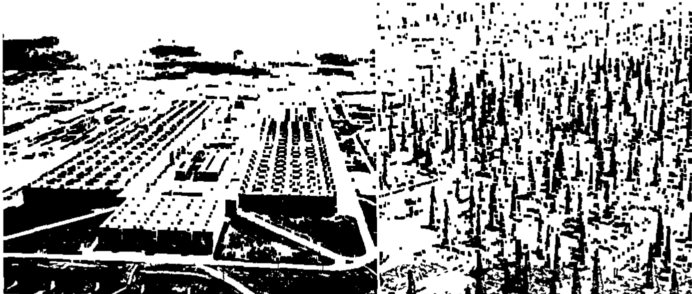
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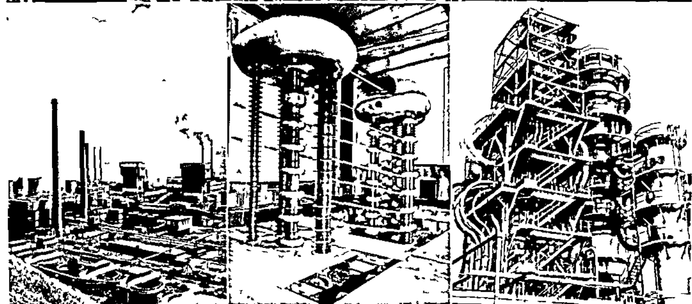
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One of the most fantastic sights in the modern world is that of a gigantic American city, especially when seen by night from the air. The sight reveals at once the inhuman scale of present-day urban development. **962/** The centre of New York, from Brooklyn. Compare this with no. 498 (San Gimignano in the 13th century). **963/** Lower Manhattan, New York. The small strip of land which houses three million inhabitants. **964/** Bridge over the Golden Gate, San Francisco (1937). The towers are 227 metres high, the span is 1280 metres, and the cross section of the cables is 91 cm. **965/** Garabit Viaduct over the Truyere, on the Béziers-Clermont-Ferrand railwayline. Built by Eiffel in 1884. Length 564 m , height of central arch 122 m. **966/** New York by night, from the roof of the R C.A Building. **967/** Rio de Janeiro by night. Preceding page **961**. San Francisco, Oakland Bay Bridge. Length 13 kilometres. [cf. maps 47 and 52]



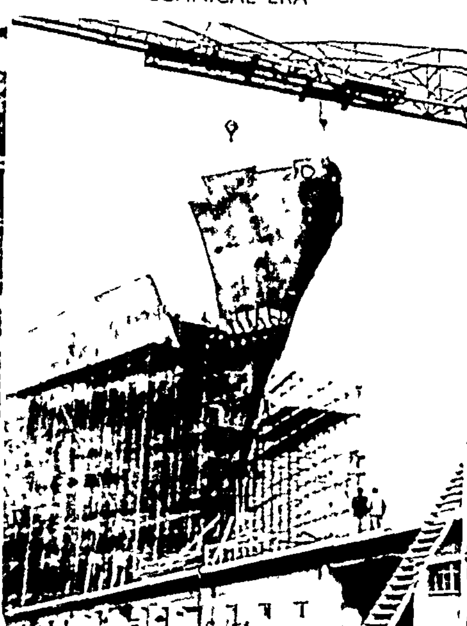


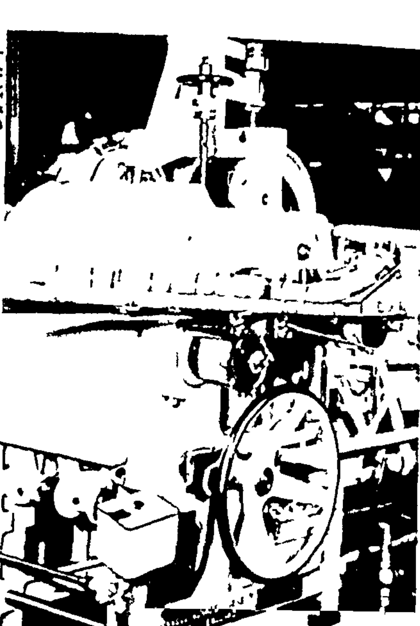


968/ Part of the atom c energy plant at Oakbridge Tennessee The whole covers an area of approx. 24 000 hectares. 969/ A forest of o l derricks at Long Beach Cal fornia. O l was first discovered here in 1921 970/ The Vesdre Barrage near Eupen Belgium 971/ The Géniss at Barrage over the Rhone, north of Lyons He ght 104 m., length 140 m area of lake 350 hectares quantity of concrete used in construct on 670 000 cub c metres This barrage produces approx 1,500 mill on k lowatt hours of current per year 972/ The Maur ts State M ne at Lutterade Limburg (The Netherlands) The largest and best equipped mine in Europe It has 7 000 m ners working below the surface and had produced 3 mill on tons of soft coal in 1950 973/ H gh tension and neutron generator at the Phil ps Laboratory Eindhoven (The Netherlands) Below laboratory for exper ments in neuclear physics w th radioact ve isotopes 974/ Oil ref nery at Curaçao (he ght 30 m)

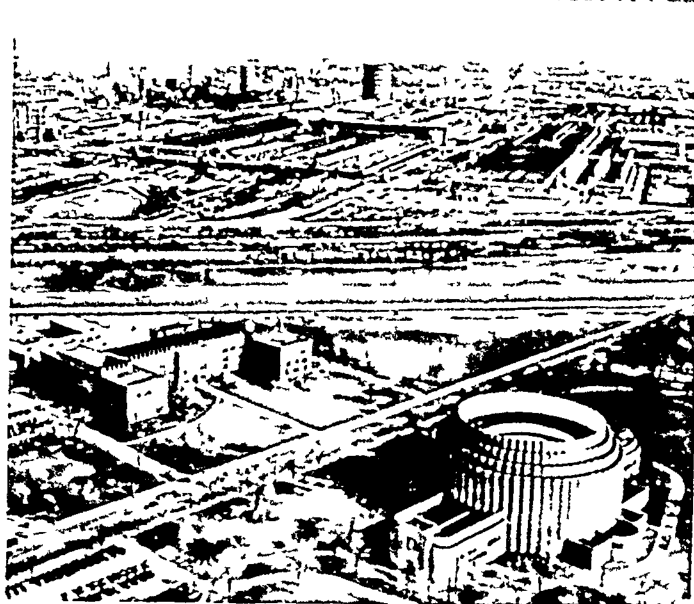
[cf maps 47 and 52]

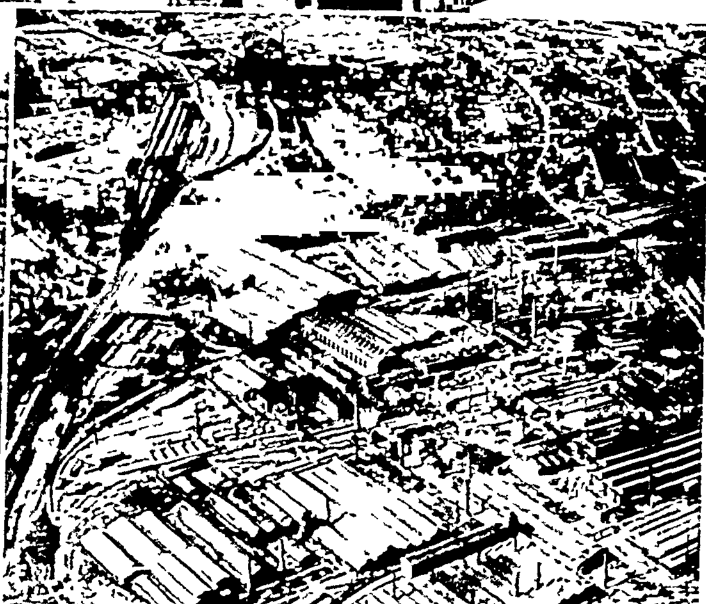






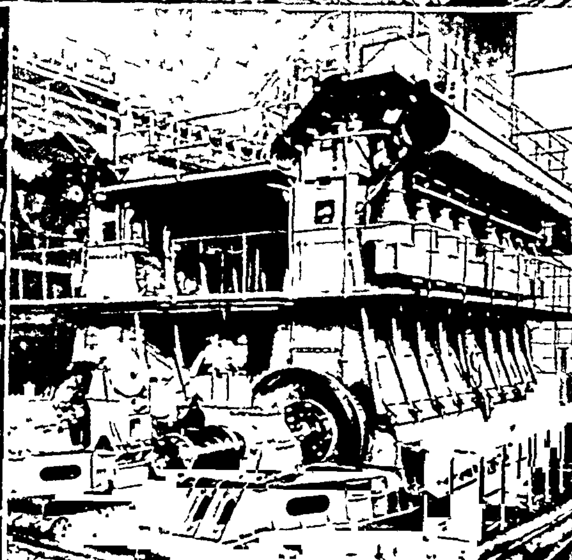
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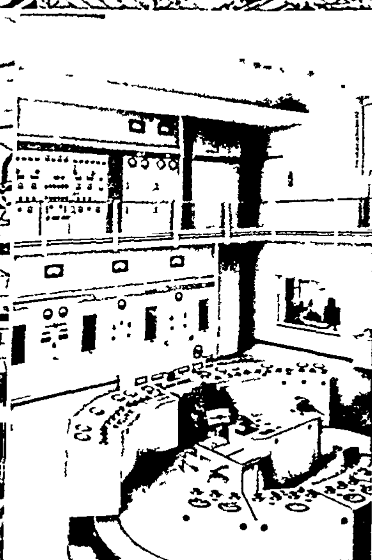




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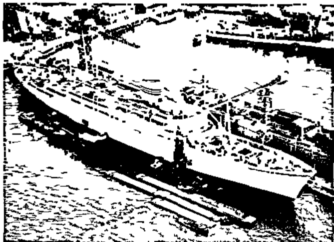


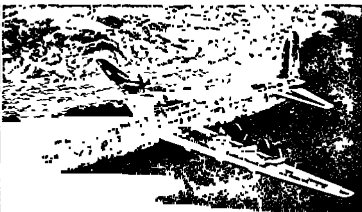


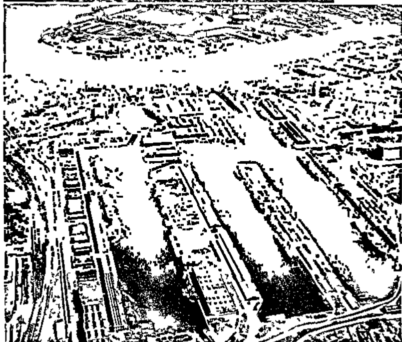
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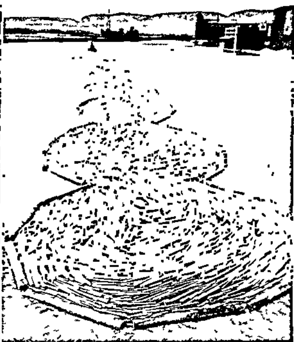
975/ Assembly hall of the Fiat-Mirafiori motor factory at Turin Floor space 375,000 sq m , length of factory 740 m , number of workers 22,000 **976/** Fitting the bows of the prefabricated French tanker Kirkouk ' at the Amsterdam shipyards **977/** Automatic machine made in England for the weighing and packing of margarine It can handle 60 packets a minute **978/** The Rouge, the Ford city near Detroit It covers an area of 485 hectares and includes a harbour, furnaces, factories, assembly halls, laboratories, schools and recreation facilities for its 75,000 employees **979/** The Krupp steel factory at Essen, before the Second World War Formerly the centre of German armament manufacture, it now produces engines and tractors **980/** Assembly hall for "autorails", Renault factory, Billancourt Seine **981/** Two eight cylinder ship s Diesel motors **982/** One of the two 120 kw medium-wave transmitters at Lopik, for Hilversum I and II Radiostations

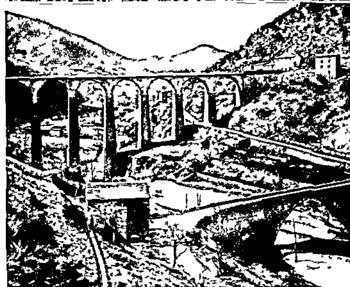
[cf maps 47 and 52]

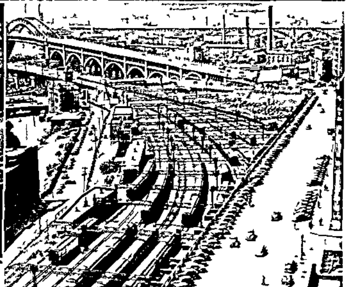












983/ The Steamship Oslofjord (16 500 tons) flagship of the Norwegian merchant fleet. Length 148 m breadth 22 m Built in 1949 984/ The Convair XC 99 military transport plane *Can carry 400 soldiers or 45 000 kg of equipment* Radius of action 13 000 km *wing-span 70 m cruising speed 480 km per hour 985/ West India Docks London (first* opened 1802) Area of basin 38 hectares length of quays 6 km 986/ Timber for the Canadian paper industry which produces 60% of the world's newsprint. 987/ Pont de Duzon, over the River Duzon (Ardèche to the west of Valence South of France) 988/ Cleveland Ohio Communications centre the lines of seven railway companies and six highways meet here Overleaf 989/ The Hoover Dam Colorado (1935) The largest dam in the world It provides water and electricity for part of the states of Nevada, Arizona and California.



By 1900 the appearance of most of the great countries has undergone the same transformation The old cities have partly become museums and the millions of workers are concentrated around the great mining and industrial centres Though still a treasure house of historic monuments and still possessing idyllic valleys and happy country backwaters the West *has become a chain* of industrial centres knit together by railways The highlights of the universities are no longer the lecture-rooms of the philologists but the laboratories and the clinics (map 46) and the industrial masses are for the most part no longer inspired by traditional beliefs but by the prophetic gospel of the first *socialists*

THE TECHNICAL ERA

The predominating outward manifestat on of our present day civilization is without doubt that of technical science The leading spirits of our time are far more concerned with the technical apparatus which covers the whole world (for the time of the closed world has certainly begun) than with unproductive creations of beauty or of pure thought It would seem that the climax reached in the previous century can still be superseded and that our technical civilization which has now spread to every corner of the globe has now its first great opportunity to show its full capabilities and to create its own distinctive style of life

But on the other hand blind fa th in technical science and the faith of a Renan or a Taine in the inevitability of progress have entirely disappeared After the catastrophes of two world wars and the subsequent revelation of the methods of totalitarian states the West no longer believes in the fable of triumphant progress Western Man has made a painful rediscovery of himself and of that element in humanity which he had chosen to forget – the demonic Man is at one and the same time too great too good and yet too wicked for the positivistic world picture and he certainly does not fit the rôle for which he was cast by the Hegelians Since then the men with a message for the modern world have not been the positivists or the idealists but the lonely and prophetic figures who have foretold the consequences of the XIXth century outlook It is men like Nietzsche who dared to utter the truths that his bourgeois contemporaries would not face It is Kierkegaard the Dane who defied the omniscience of the theological professors and biblical exegetes who found God again in the midst of his fear and trembling and whose message today is brought to the Reformed Churches by Karl Barth It is Newman first a clergyman and later a Cardinal who restored the existential knowledge of God and Man (he called it the illative sense) and who compelled the theologians both inside and outside his own Church to rethink their concepts

It is Dostoievsky the Russian who foresaw and embodied in his novels those consequences of Western positivism which we see before us today It is men like these who have blazed the trail for the return of modern philosophers to the very roots of the problem of existence The danger of the abstract is now recognized the artists of the period after 1920 have recovered their respect for the elemental and for the mystery of humanity and they have chosen either elementary reality or delicate evocation in preference to glossy pastiches of previous epochs In some of the old lands such as in France the Church has become once more like Christ Himself a real and immediate sign of contradiction a revelation for one a riddle for another and a mystery for all In the midst of a world that we assume to be post-Christian Faith is stronger and more conscious than ever

What remains today of the three roots of Western civilization? Historically speaking our information concerning all three has never been more perfect Prejudice against them is in general much more of a personal question than in the past Faith for instance is no longer ignored it is either professed or else attacked and persecuted and eliminated under every possible pretext The humanity of Antiquity and the Christian Faith are only professed by individuals and groups and are no longer imposed from above on the majority Take for instance the question of education A hundred years ago it was considered that anyone who was imbued with the classical heritage tempered consciously or unconsciously by the Christian tradition was fit to take up any administrative position in the British Empire or in the Third Republic Nowadays it would appear that future officials have to undergo uniform tests to determine their technical and psycholog cal aptitude In how many fields indeed even outside the world of entertainment are the standards set by the mass – in other words by the sub human?

Yet Western Man has always been opposed to what is hostile to pure humanity What he is prepared to preserve and to defend to the last are ultimately the same values as those for which Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae and the Christians under the Emperor Diocletian unhesitatingly gave their lives Western Man knows that such values may be unpractical and of no economic or material value but that they are the most precious and satisfying What then are these values? The greatest possible personal freedom an attitude of mind that derives from a combination of wonder and reverence for every positive reality and above all those primary human feelings by which man can alone reach God faith and love

Western Man sets no store by deafening speeds or by the technical tricks which bring sounds and pictures over the ether into his very home Were he to do so he would become more wretched than any slave in the Ancient World For the latter served at least a human master but modern man would become the slave of a relentless machine and ultimately the slave of the most monstrous of all machines the totalitarian State The Ancients the Classics the Scriptures and the Church can teach modern man to change the technical era into a community of men who though technically expert are nevertheless fully developed human personalities – or at any rate they can teach him to live like a man in the midst of the depersonalized mass

INDEX

EXPLANATORY NOTE

ndex includes geographical names (towns cities countries etc) names and the names of historical concepts Place names are s followed by the country and county or province to which they g Place names from classical geography or other names which o longer current are usually followed by their modern equivalent *antuaria (Canterbury)* Such place names are also followed by istorical name for the country in which they are situated e g *uaria (Canterbury) Britannia Map 14 15* In such cases the ern name either follows immediately after e g *(England)* or may be ascertained by consulting the cross-reference *Britannia* Place names in France are generally distinguished by the name of *departement* in which they lie e g *Candes, Indre et Loire* in gland by the county e g *Eton Buckingham* and in the U S A the state e g *Trenton New Jersey* French *departements* are given map 34 English counties on map 46 and American states on map 52 Place names prefixed by *Saint Sankt Santo* and *Sint* are given under *St* the prefixes *San* and *Sao* are given under *S* In order to avoid a large series of numbers place names which occur frequently are indicated by *passim* after the number of the first map on which they are to be found

Place-names and surnames beginning with *Le* or *La* are entered under these prefixes respectively e g *La Coruna* under *La* and *Le Corbusier* under *Le* Dutch surnames beginning with *Van* or *De* however are entered under the last part of the name e g *Van* Gogh under Gogh *De* Groot under Groot Names of saints are entered under the first letter of their name and not under *S* or *St* Artists are usually entered under the first letter of their surname except when they are better known by their Christian name e g *Rembrandt*

Historical information concerning persons and places (e g dates and monuments) is usually not repeated in the index when already given on the maps themselves Descriptions of style etc are given very briefly since they are explained more fully in the text

ABBREVIATIONS

Arab = Arabian *arch* = architect *astron* = astronomer *Austr* = Austrian *auth* = author *b* = born *bp* = bishop *By* = Byzantine *ca* = circa *cat* = catacomb *cath* = cathedral *ch* = church *class* = classical *comp* = composer *Const* = Con stantinople *d* = died *da* = daughter *descr* = described descrip tion *dipl* = diplomat *doct* = doctor (medical) *dyn* = dynasty *eccl* = ecclesiastical *Eg* = Egypt Egyptian *Emp* = Emperor Empire *Eng* = England English *e p* = endpaper (front) *f* = foun ded founder *Fr* = France French *geog* = geographer *Germ* = German *Gr* = Greece Greek *hist* = historian *hum* = humanist humanistic *inscr* = inscription *Isl* = Islam Islamic *It* = Italy Italian *k* = king *L* = Lake *Luth* = Lutheran *Mah* = Mahomet Mahometan *mart* = martyr *math* = mathematician *mon* = monastery convent *myst* = mystic mysticism *Neth* = The Netherlands Netherlandish *OC* = Cistercian *OCarm* = Carmelite *OCarth* = Carthusian *OFM* = Franciscan *OP* = Dominican *OSB* = Benedictine *p* = page *phil* = philosopher *phys* = physi cist *pol* = politician statesman *prob* = probably *prov* = pro vince *psychol* = psychologist *R C* = Roman Catholic *Ren* = Renaissance *rel* = religious *Rom* = Roman *rom* = romanesque *Rum* = Rumanian Rumania *Russ* = Russian *sav* = savant *schol* = scholastic scholasticism *sculpt* = sculptor *SJ* = Jesuit *Sp* = Spain Spanish *Switz* = Switzerland *theol* = theologian theological *US* = American *wr* = writer wrote

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